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Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE
GENESIS CREATION STORY

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Theology

by
Jacques B. Doukhan
August 1978

ABSTRACT

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE
GENESIS CREATION STORY

by

Jacques B. Doukhan

Chairperson: Gerhard F. Hasel

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

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Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE GENESIS CREATION
STORY

Name of researcher: Jacques B. Doukhan

Name and title of faculty adviser: Gerhard F. Hasel, Ph.D.

Date completed: August 1978

Exegetical research on Gen 1 has been characterized since the 18th century essentially by a diachronic concern. Thus the Documentary hypothesis and the so-called Tatbericht-Wortbericht theory have been the two main starting points of any relevant scholarly study of this text. Recently, under the influence of contemporary literary studies, attention has been drawn to the validity of the synchronic approach, and more and more scholars have thus become aware of the importance of the literary structure of this text. The latter has been dissociated from the thematic distribution of motifs; this tension has

been explained in terms of different sources, but this explanation has not permitted an adequate control. Thus most scholars assume the existence of a literary structure, but all disagree about its contours.

The purpose of the present study is to discover the "literary structure of the Genesis creation story" as it was intended by the biblical author. The relevance of this inquiry is that it not only works with the literary data of the text as a whole and in its present form, but also aims to reach the intentional level of the text; the literary structure responds to both requirements and leads thereby to its hermeneutic. Although our approach is independent, it has been inspired by recent methodologies introduced especially in stylistics and in structuralism.

The first step of our work has been concerned with providing a control: the literary structure of Gen 1:1-2:4a (C) must be in agreement with the thematic content and must also be attested in a text of the same nature which will become thereby the control-text (C'). Since Gen 2:4b-25 is also concerned with creation and has been "edited" in connection with C, it appeared that it could serve as the control-text. The analysis of the connection has revealed a striking parallelism between C and C' which manifested itself in the literary structure and in the agreement of the thematic content. Furthermore, this conclusion has been strengthened by the

fact that the literary structure of C and its connection to C' have been perceived in various degrees in biblical as well as in extra-biblical texts referring to creation.

The second step has been concerned with drawing the implications of these conclusions on the level of the literary composition. The deep connection between C and C' has led us (1) to question the validity of the Documentary hypothesis; (2) to observe a "lateral" process of writing instead of a "concentric" one as argued by the Tatbericht-Wortbericht and structural approaches, and to infer the unity of the text; (3) to notice three literary genres into which the text has been voluntarily "dressed," namely, genealogy, prose, and recitation.

The third step of our work has been concerned with reflecting theological perspectives in terms of three relevant questions in today's debate on creation, i.e., Revelation, Reality, Existence. Thus, in continual dialogue with the most representative theologies on creation, we have drawn theological implications in an attempt to frame an interpretation within these three categories of thought: (1) The literary situation of C has shown us that its author thought of the material he recorded, as a Revelation from above pointing to both its "necessity" and its "possibility" aspects. (2) The literary genres suggest that the author intended to tell about the event but not to provide its mechanism. (3) The author did not content himself "to inform," he also

was concerned to transmit his "message" on an existential level. The historical event of creation was required to become history in existence. The Sabbath is the expression of this faith and, carrying both categories of Revelation and Reality in connection with Existence, it invites thereby a particular dialectic regarding the two "events" of Creation and Redemption.

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE
GENESIS CREATION STORY

A dissertation presented
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Theology

by
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"אעשה לך עזר כנגדך"
Genesis 2:18

To Lilianne my wife,
who fulfilled the prophecy

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PREFACE

The first lesson which "creation" teaches us is indeed a lesson of dependence. Thus as I consider the conception and growth of the present work I realize how much it owes to others, what gratitude it calls forth.

First of all to my masters of the Hebrew Institute of Strasbourg University and especially to Professor André Neher who transmitted to me literary sensitivity towards the Hebrew Scriptures, together with the requirement and the discipline to confront them always with a "new look."

The idea of this work was already in germ in a previous dissertation, yet it would have never seen its present form elsewhere than at Andrews University, not only because of the opportunities of study which are provided there but especially because of the particular philosophy which prevails in this institution.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Gerhard F. Hasel, who not only supervised the writing of this dissertation and more than once opened it to the vast horizon of the scholarly world, but engaged me in authentic and fruitful dialogue.

I wish also to express my gratitude for the encouragement of the two other members of my committee,

Dr. William G. Johnsson and Dr. Hans K. LaRondelle, who provided me with helpful advice and have contributed thereby to the improvement of this work.

My deep appreciation goes also to Dr. Lawrence T. Geraty and Dr. William H. Shea, whose suggestions and even emotional support have been of great help on the difficult path of the research.

I am very much indebted to Dr. Leona G. Running who, with kindness and utmost diligence, has read and corrected the entire manuscript by removing unwelcome gallicisms.

This work has come as the result of years of thinking and of maturation but has been "begotten" under considerable pressure, yet the tension thereby generated has compelled intense concentration, and the difficulty of the task has been well attenuated by the passion of the research.

I am, however, as much aware of the limitations of the enterprise as I am aware of the particular nature of the text I have struggled with, the whole truth of which will ever be beyond any access, as a constant invitation to exegetical effort in humility.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Bible opens with creation.

Commentators have been struck by this fact and have been led to provide various explanations. Some scholars have perceived here the biblical concern to point simply to the objective idea that history had a beginning and creation by God was the beginning.¹ Other scholars have pursued the matter further, arguing that the biblical tradition wanted to indicate a theology of salvation and election. Salvation necessitates a powerful Creator, and the process of election suggested by the concept of salvation refers to the universal dimension from which it is narrowed down to the particular one.²

Whatever the reason may be, the fact that creation has been placed at the beginning of the Bible must have placed a role and serves a particular interest. It is no

¹See Franz J. Delitzsch, The Pentateuch, BCOT, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1952), 1:37; cf. H. Emil Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, Dogmatics 2 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1952), pp. 15-16.

²See Claus Westermann, The Genesis Accounts of Creation, Facet Books, Biblical Ser. 7 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p. 2; Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1962-65), 1:450. See also Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949), p. 178.

surprise that Genesis creation is one of the most investigated parts of the Bible.

It is significant that it has often served as a basis of literary theories as well as theological systems and exegetical methodologies which have been developed for larger parts of the Bible.

The present location of Genesis creation would then imply a double importance: (1) It may be understood as an indication of the final purpose of this text, i.e., to convey an essential truth from "there," and (2) it has been the starting point of significant scholarly works and thus brings important echoes from "here," the modern world of biblical studies.

Before we face the parole of its content, and struggle with the "there," trying to wrest the truth it holds, it behooves us primarily to place ourselves "here." Thus upon the basis of the problems raised by most approaches which have marked research in the text of Genesis creation, we shall be led to define our own methodology and to describe the object we pursue.

The Problem Stated

In considering the history of scholarly study from the 18th century onward,¹ we are struck by a signifi-

¹For a summary of the exegetical tendencies which have marked the study of this text before the 18th century, see Dominique Hermant, "Analyse littéraire du premier récit de la Création," VT 15 (1965):437-39. Werner H. Schmidt (Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priester-

evolution from a squarely diachronic tendency to a more and more synchronic one under recent influences of contemporary literary studies in a variety of fields.

It is significant that the diachronic approach germinated in the 18th century within the particular concern of establishing the objective basis of history.¹ The first attempt in this direction will therefore be fed overall by an attention to the literary differences. Thus H. B. Witter (1711)² and Jean Astruc (1753)³ observe the text of the Pentateuch and are attentive to the words in order to resolve the problem of historical and literary criticism. The former concentrates his attention on Gen 1 in comparison to the paradise story (Gen 2-3) and notices the variation of divine names, the differences of style

schrift, WMANT 17 [Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964], pp. 9-20) surveys the history of modern study from the 18th century until the present. Cf. Hans-J. Kraus, Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1956).

¹See Henri Cazelles, ed., Introduction critique à l'Ancien Testament, vol. 2 of Introduction à la Bible, new ed. (Paris: Desclée, 1973), p. 119. The background of the awareness of this necessity may be perceived in the movement of the Enlightenment as it came in expression especially in the Spinozist rationalism and in the scepticism of the Encyclopedists and of Voltaire (cf. Roland K. Harrison, Introduction to the Old Testament [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969], p. 13).

²Jura Israelitarum in Palaestina, quoted in Harrison, p. 12, n. 41.

³Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genèse. Avec des Remarques, qui appuient ou qui éclaircissent ces Conjectures (Brussels: Chez Fricx, 1753).

and the repetitions. The latter pursues further and expands this observation to the whole book of Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus, ultimately explaining the phenomenon of the variation of the divine names by stating the first elements of the so-called "Documentary hypothesis."¹

Johann G. Eichhorn (1780-83)² will bring to this theory its systematic shape upon the basis especially of the accounts of the flood, which present to his view the same literary phenomenon as the two accounts of creation, i.e., a significant literary difference between them, supporting thereby the sources theory as formulated by Astruc.

Karl D. Ilgen³ was the first to distinguish two different sources in the series of chapters where God is called Elohim, a first Elohist (E₁ which will be called

¹See Cazelles, Introduction critique, p. 119.

²Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 4th ed., 3 vols. (Göttingen: C. E. Rosenbusch, 1823-24). Cf. Harrison, p. 14; cf. Otto Kaiser, "Eichhorn and Kant: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hermeneutik," in Das ferne und nahe Wort: Festschrift Leonhard Rost, ed. Fritz Maass, BZAW 105 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), pp. 114-23.

³Die Urkunden des Jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt, vol. 1: Die Urkunden des ersten Buchs von Moses in ihrer Urgestalt (Halle, 1798). Cf. Otto Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, unter Einschluss der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen sowie der apokryphen- und pseudepigraphenartigen Qumran-Schriften: Entstehungsgeschichte des Alten Testaments, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964), p. 214.

P later) and a second Elohist (E_2 which will be called E later).

Yet significant differences are noted within these documents, and scholars such as Alexander Geddes,¹ J. S. Vater,² W. M. L. DeWette³ are led to state another theory, i.e., the "Fragmentary hypothesis," according to which the Pentateuch is nothing but the compilation of diverse pieces.

Then, having pointed out the differences, one became aware that this reaction overlooked the unity between them. Henceforth, the task of biblical scholars has essentially been to explain and to conciliate these two contradictory features of unity and diversity.

The first attempt is to be noted in the "Supplementary hypothesis"⁴ which was defined especially by Henrich Ewald.⁵ The latter had observed that in spite of

¹Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures Corresponding with a New Translation of the Bible, vol. 1: Remarks on the Pentateuch (London: The author, 1800).

²Commentar über den Pentateuch, 1805, quoted in Harrison, p. 500, n. 14. Cf. also Eissfeldt, Einleitung, p. 215.

³Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 1807, quoted in Harrison, p. 500, n. 14. Cf. also Eissfeldt, Einleitung, p. 215.

⁴DeWette joined it in 1840 (see Harrison, p. 16). Cf. also Georg Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), p. 108.

⁵Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht, 1823, quoted in Harrison, p. 15, n. 49; cf. also Cazelles, Introduction critique, p. 120.

the differences between the sources, one had to assume between them a certain thread of unity. He proposed, therefore, the theory which assumed the existence of a basic writing (Grundschrift) to which would have been added a number of diverse texts.

Finally, in the line of this concern, and under the influence of the Hegelian system which began to be expressed in biblical theology,¹ Karl H. Graf,² Abraham Kuenen³ and especially Julius Wellhausen⁴ gave to the Documentary hypothesis its mature shape; taking into account both the differences and the unity, they explained the phenomenon essentially in terms of an evolution from the primitive stage to the more advanced one.⁵ And this principle brought them to date the P creation story much later than the J creation story.⁶

¹See especially Wilhelm Vatke, Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt, 1835, quoted in Harrison, p. 423, n. 19. See also Rudolf Smend, Jr., "De Wette und das Verhältnis zwischen historischer Bibelkritik und philosophischem System im 19. Jahrhundert," TZ 14 (1958):107-19.

²Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments: Zwei historisch-kritische Untersuchungen (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1866).

³De godsdienst von Israël tot den ondergang van den joodschen Staat (Haarlem: A. C. Kruseman, 1869-70). Cf. Simon J. de Vries, "The Hexateuch Criticism of Abraham Kuenen," JBL 82 (1963):31-57.

⁴Prolegomena to the History of Israel (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885), pp. 363-65.

⁵See Cazelles, Introduction critique, pp. 124-25.

⁶See Eissfeldt, Einleitung, p. 109. Cf. *infra* pp. 138-39.

Of the same vein, but more concerned with Gen 1, Julian Morgenstern's system distinguished in Gen 1 two different sources which he defined in terms of a Making-version and a Word-version¹ and which follow also the "evolutionary" process as defended by Wellhausen.

Hermann Gunkel, a pioneer of Formgeschichte, was concerned with extra-biblical parallels as they relate to the biblical creation story and has indicated where he believes there is literary influence from the ancient Near East. The creation story of Gen 1 thus appeared to be a compilation of ancient cosmogonies, "eine Sammlung von Sagen."²

It is against this background of concern for a genetic composition of creation in Gen 1-2, that we may understand Gerhard von Rad's attempt to depict the process of their "conception." Starting with texts which sing of soteriology without creation, the process ends in texts which praise creation without mention of the soteriological motif any more. The subordination of the creation theme to that of soteriology is evident in Isa 44:5; Ps 74 and 89. Regarding this von Rad writes,

We regard this soteriological interpretation of the work of creation as the most primitive expression of Yahwistic belief concerning Yahweh as Creator of the

¹Julian Morgenstern, "The Sources of the Creation Story: Genesis 1:1-2:4," AJSL 36 (1919-20):169-212.

²Hermann Gunkel, Genesis, 8th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p. vii.

world. The belief finds expression almost exclusively in the mythological conception of the struggle against the dragon of chaos.¹

Recently, Werner H. Schmidt has taken over from von Rad the genetic approach from the point of view of the history of traditions.² Yet he diverges from him in that he applies this method to the text itself. His approach consists essentially in discerning on the redactional levels the trajectory of meaning from one stratum to the other. To understand the text means to perceive the movement by which the Wortbericht reinterprets the Tatbericht. Indeed the method is genetic in essence but it presupposes first of all an analysis of the actual structure of the text, in order to be able to discern the tensions which disturb the general harmony, and by means of this process to detect the different versions.

Following the work of Schmidt,³ and under the

¹Gerhard von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation," in The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 138.

²Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, especially pp. 39-48. See also Westermann (Genesis Accounts, p. 13) who likewise interprets the creation story in terms of the history of traditions: "This juxtaposition of these two styles of presentation is most simply explained thus: In a priestly circle of tradition a very old account of the creation was recast entirely from the point of view of this circle."

³See Paul Beauchamp, Création et Séparation: Etude exégétique du chapitre premier de la Genèse (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1969), p. 11.

influence of structuralism,¹ Paul Beauchamp takes another step with his attempts to analyze the structure of Gen 1. He frees himself from previous scholarship in that his approach is worked out without any dependence on the history of tradition method. He starts deliberately from the text in its finished state and from his synchronic observations he infers diachronic conclusions.²

His first step is concerned with what he calls the "structure ou composition littéraire." He defines,

Par ce terme, volontairement large, nous voulons dire que nous partons de l'état dernier du texte, dont les caractéristiques objectivement observées permettent de discerner l'agencement esthétique et logique, ~~que~~ nous appelons la structure ou composition littéraire. Si cela entraîne notre enquête à un détour, ce détour nous paraît indispensable.

Dans le terme de "composition littéraire" se déclare l'intention d'étudier le texte selon ses rapports internes et en restant toujours guidé par le niveau de l'expression: à travers les différents jeux de correspondances verbales ou stylistiques, les identités et les différences se font valoir les unes

¹Beauchamp recognizes this influence although he specifies his independence from it: "En particulier, nous ne pouvons pas nous réclamer directement des méthodes les plus récentes de l'analyse structurale, bien que nous leur soyons redevable à plusieurs égards" (ibid., p. 14).

²As Paul Ricoeur notices: "L'intérêt du travail de Paul Beauchamp est d'avoir renversé le rapport entre analyse structurale et reconstruction génétique" ("Sur l'exégèse de Genèse 1,1-2,4," in Exégèse et Herméneutique, ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour, coll. "Parole de Dieu" [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971], p. 74). Cf. Hermant's methodology: "Il faut partir du texte tel qu'il est, en mettre à nu, si possible, les harmonies et les articulations évidemment intentionnelles; c'est alors seulement qu'on pourra se demander si tous les détails s'insèrent parfaitement dans cette structure bien définie, ou s'il n'y a pas certains qui font question" (p. 439).

les autres. Il se dégage ainsi un principe d'organisation, à la fois esthétique et logique, qui anime le texte et en développe et hiérarchise les intentions.¹

Thus Beauchamp is particularly attentive to the literary frame (cadre littéraire) of the text in its finished state and gathers all the formules-cadres which are specific to it and proceeds to classify the different types of its constitutive elements.

Beauchamp perceives behind the text, the final composition of which is attributed to P, the diverse traditions as the Tatbericht and Wortbericht.² He follows the earlier view that the creation story is also a skillful compilation of older cosmologies.³ Accordingly, the synchronic analysis of the composition emerges eventually in a structural diachronic recomposition.

This conclusion is inferred also from the irregularities of literary composition which he observes within the text⁴:

. . . (érosion du niveau de la tradition, in conséquences ou redondances) servent d'indices pour un

¹Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 18.

²Ibid., pp. 37, 92-123.

³Ibid., p. 91. The fact that he explicitly refers to Gunkel's approach as "le prototype des études consacrées à notre sujet" (ibid., p. 16) is significant of the way he situates himself.

⁴The same methodology has been used by Hermant in his analysis of Gen 1 (pp. 437-51). Here also the concern is mainly a historical investigation of the literary irregularities in order to disclose the original elementary structure of the text (cf. especially the two principles he states on p. 439).

diagnostic de l'archéologie du texte, sur l'hypothèse de base d'au moins deux niveaux diachroniques.¹

This "archeology" of the text is similar to that of Schmidt. Yet Beauchamp is much more flexible than Schmidt whom he reproaches with a "rigidité de sa conclusion" emphasizing

cela est d'autant plus important que, toute expression et toute littérature procédant par association d'unités, on constate que, dans les littératures moins souples mais moins disloquées que les nôtres--justement celles qu'on appelait autrefois primitives--les unités associées sont plus vastes. Méconnaître cette loi expose à des découpages dont la rigueur est illusoire.²

We are not surprised, therefore, that finally the analysis of Beauchamp draws a line which does not coincide with the strata obtained by the type of research pursued by Schmidt.

Speaking about this problem, it is interesting to note that Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, who shares Beauchamp's concern, takes over his methodology, and acknowledging his debt to him,³ is however led to the opposite conclusion. To Monsengwo Pasinya many irregularities are to be explained on stylistic grounds according to the "technique de la symétrie dissymétrique caractéristique du style sacerdotal."⁴

¹Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 37.

²Ibid., p. 11.

³See Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, "Le cadre littéraire de Genèse 1," Bib 57 (1976):225, 226.

⁴Ibid., p. 230.

The literary structure of the text, i.e., its framework, has generally been dissociated from the thematic distribution of the motifs on account of the discrepancies between both. These contradictions have been explained by reference to the alleged different sources or traditions. By this procedure neither the literary structure of the text nor its thematic content could be controlled, reducing both proposals to mere subjective and disputable descriptions.

As a matter of fact, there is no possible control in the study of the framework as long as the latter is neither supported from within by the thematic content nor from without with the aid of a comparison with another text.

The question of the literary structure has been debated in recent years. Most scholars assume its existence but all disagree about its contours.¹ The main reason of this diversity of views seems to be, in spite

¹Schmidt argues for a creation story in eight steps (cf. Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 55), also Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), p. 195 and Hermann Gunkel, Die Urgeschichte und die Patriarchen (das erste Buch Moses), Die Schriften des Alten Testaments 1, 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), pp. 109-110. Cf. Hermant, p. 440.

For ten steps, see Eberhard Schrader, Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte: Gen. Cap. I-XI: Drei Abhandlungen (Zurich: Meyer & Zeller, 1863), p. 11; Bernhard Duhm, Israels Propheten, 2d ed., Lebensfragen 26 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1922), p. 388; Rudolf Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Handbücher der alten Geschichte, 3 vols. (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1921-29), 1:246.

For seven steps, see Umberto Cassuto, A Commentary

of Schmidt's attempt to draw out the "ideale Reihenfolge,"¹ that the ideal control has not yet been found and applied.

It is noteworthy that the same criticism may be brought against Umberto Cassuto's proposal, although the latter holds a squarely synchronic approach. Indeed, Cassuto has argued for a correspondence between the so-called P and J versions of the biblical creation story. This correspondence would come out of a parallelism which covers the first two chapters of Genesis.² This observation could have provided a control for an adequate study of the structure of the text of Gen 1; yet the correspondence Cassuto noticed is confined to the motifs which are common in the five sections and at the same time divide the two texts.³ Thus, the control which is somehow secured by the confrontation is here only concerned with

on the Book of Genesis, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961-64), 1:14 after Julius Wellhausen, Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher der Alten Testaments, 4th ed. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1963), p. 186 and A. Pohl, "Der Schöpfungshymnus der Bibel," Stimmen der Zeit 163 (1959):257.

¹Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 51.

²Beauchamp also senses a common pattern between J and P with regards to the motif of separation which is, according to him, the basic concern of the creation story. Yet, he does not go further and gives up from the presupposition that J is "difficile à situer sur la même ligne de recherche exégétique que le récit sacerdotal" (Création et Séparation, p. 9).

³Cf. Umberto Cassuto, La questione della Genesi, Pubblicazioni della R. Università degli Studi di Firenze, Facoltà di lettere et filosofia 3, 1 (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1934):258.

the thematic content and does not ascertain the literary structure of the text. In fact, his thematic partition in five sections stands in contradiction to his literary structure which is summed up in seven parts.¹ The literary structure he shows for P has been controlled neither by the inner thematic distribution of motifs nor by the outer confrontation with J.

Indeed, the actual situation in the literary exegesis of the biblical creation story is not clear. Even the respective methodologies which have been referred to are not well defined.² Looking at the text from a synchronic standpoint, most scholars ultimately reverted back to traditional historical exegesis.³

¹This would stand also in flat contradiction to his exegetical principle, namely, that the content must agree with the form or expression. It is from lexical, grammatical and especially stylistic observations that Cassuto infers the principle that for instance the use of the two names of God in these texts is made in connection to the theological content (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 171-178).

²The problem has been pointed out recently by Ferdinand Deist regarding the general problem of methodology in stylistic studies: "Obwohl sich eine weitverbreitete Übereinstimmung zwischen den Forschern über die Verwendung von stilistischen Studien feststellen lässt, gibt es jedoch kaum festformulierte Aussagen darüber, was genau unter diesem Terminus zu verstehen ist" ("Stilvergleichung als literarkritisches Verfahren," ZAW 89 [1977]:327).

³The combination of both approaches is in fact recommended by most scholars; see Daniel Patte: "To be legitimate an exegesis must be at once diachronic and synchronic" (What is Structural Exegesis?, GBS.NT [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976], p. 19).

Cassuto is alone in not departing from the synchronic approach. However, several inconsistencies of his proposal make it unconvincing. It nevertheless resulted in drawing attention to the importance of the literary structure in the creation story, and made important efforts to draw out the genuine literary structure of this text. The only problem is indeed the lack of an adequate control; and this makes room at least for further research.

Methodological Considerations

In continual dialogue with the pertinent investigations on the subject, the present work attempts to discover the "literary structure" of the biblical creation story as it has been intended by the biblical author. And in spite of the terminology, our basic concern is here essentially different from structuralism. In effect, the latter traditionally uses particular patterns or structures which are selfconsciously hypothetical-deductive in nature,¹ whereas we are concerned with the general structure which is in the text as specifically intended by the author, and therefore our analysis is by nature inductive.²

¹See A. J. Greimas, "Eléments pour une théorie de l'interprétation du récit mythique," Communications 8 (1966):28-59. Cf. Robert M. Polzin, Biblical Structuralism: Method and Subjectivity in the Study of Ancient Texts, Semeia Sup. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 19.

²Cf. the inductive approach of Tsvetan Todorov who also prefers to discover a pattern within the text,

Definition

The process of inquiry which is implied by "literary structure" has been described as the

recherche du principe de leur distribution [des formules et des mots qui se répètent régulièrement], si elle constitue un rapport d'harmonie.¹

As soon as this principle which governs the regularity and the harmony of the literary design is found, we shall be able to reach the literary structure. In other words, the literary structure of the text is disclosed through the detection of the principle which has been used to build up its regularity and harmony.

By "literary structure" we mean indeed the "flow" of the text in its totality to the extent that it is evident in regularity and harmony, hence of intentionality.

although he is not really concerned to draw the structure which has been intended by the author (Grammaire du Décaméron, Approaches to Semiotics 3 [The Hague: Mouton, 1969]),

¹Beauchamp, "Author du premier chapitre de la Genèse," in Exégèse et Herméneutique, ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour, coll. "Parole de Dieu" (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971), p. 60. On the other hand, the great diversity of terms which designate this kind of literary investigation is significant of the research for an adequate expression: framework or armature (Polzin, Biblical Structuralism, p. 43); Rahmenwerk or Reihenfolge (Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 49); structure or composition littéraire (Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 17; Monsengwo Pasinya, p. 255); literarische Form (Johannes B. Bauer, "Die literarische Form des Heptameron," BZ 1 [1957]:273-77). It seems however as Beauchamp puts it, that "la désignation qui prévaut actuellement dans les milieux exégétiques pour cette méthode est celle de 'structure littéraire'" ("Autour du premier chapitre de la Genèse," p. 60).

Relevance

Thus two concerns have motivated this research:

(1) The necessity of considering the passage in its totality; and (2) the necessity of reaching the intentionality which has been at work in the literary act of its composition.¹

The former concern has come to use from the awareness that the totality of the text² must determine the shades of its constitutive elements and not the reverse.³ Indeed, to seize the exact meaning which lies in each word of the text is hardly possible. The author is free and therefore he may use his words with connotations of his own, and even use the same word with various shades of meaning within the text. Recent works in linguistics have brought out this living character of the parole, making the lexicon no more the primary reference tool but reducing it to a secondary supporting tool.⁴

¹This particular concern has been emphasized by Marcel Cressot who considers this research as being "the work of literature par excellence . . . precisely because there the choice is more 'voluntary' and more 'conscious'" (Le Style et ses techniques: Précis d'Analyse Stylistique, 8th ed. [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974], p. 3).

²The importance of this attention has been emphasized especially by structuralism (see Patte, pp. 25-26).

³Cf. Leonard Bloomfield: "In all study of language one must start from form and not from meanings" ("Meaning," Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht 35 [1943]:103).

⁴Cf. James Barr's warning: "The relation between the meaning of sentences and larger units on the one hand and the mode of their expression on the other is a stylistic-

The second concern has come to us on account of the importance we grant to the "original" meaning of what the author wanted to say. If the text presents significant literary regularities which happen to obey what Beauchamp calls the rapport d'harmonie, it may mean that it conveys a strong intentionality.

Indeed the literary structure responds to both requirements, for it embraces the whole of the text and belongs to the intention of the literary act.

The benefit of this kind of research is that it provides the possibility of finding a "key" which will be indicated by the passage itself, opening thereby the way to an interpretation, even on the level of the thought, the direction of which has been traced by the author himself.¹ Exegesis will then lead to hermeneutic.²

tic matter and cannot be fully handled by the lexical methods discussed above" (The Semantics of Biblical Language [London: Oxford University Press, 1961], p. 272; cf. also idem, Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968]).

¹In the Bible the literary situation has its correspondence on the level of the thought and appeals therefore to an interpretation which takes it into account. As Sara Rozik observes: "יסודות צורניים אינם ממלאים רק תפקיד אסתטי אלא גם תפקיד הבעתי. באמצעותם מובעת משמעות" ("מדרכי המדרש [Midrashic and Literary Modes in Biblical Interpretation], " Beth Mikra 64 [1975]: 71). This phenomenon has been emphasized by Martin Buber, Schriften zur Bibel, vol. 2 of Werke (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1964), pp. 1101, 1112, 113, 1122, 1131. Cf. Bernard Renaud, Structure et Attaches Littéraires de Michée IV-V, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 2 (Paris: Gabalda, 1964), pp. 118-19.

²Cf. Patte: "When exegesis does not lead to hermeneutic--that is, when exegesis does not bring back to

Method

This approach requires a particular attention to the text and demands a particular "experience," a "walking" with the text itself which means a sensitive openness to it, a readiness to all its surprises.

This preoccupation of "close reading"¹ is the same as the one which has been referred to in the so-called stylistic or rhetorical criticism.² Our approach is however essentially different from stylistics in the sense that we limit ourselves to the obvious intention as it is

life the dead language of the text--it has failed. It is not a legitimate exegesis in that it does not carry out the exegetical task to its end, that is, lead to hermeneutic" (p. 6). Note also the conception of Paul Ricoeur on hermeneutics (The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics [Evanston: Northwestern, 1974]).

¹David Robertson, "The Bible as Literature," IDBSup, p. 550.

²This new type of research has been brought out in recent years especially under the influence of general literary studies (see Richard W. Bailey and Dolores M. Burton, English Stylistics: A Bibliography [Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 1968]; Helmut A. Hatzfeld, A Critical Bibliography of the New Stylistics Applied to the Romance Literatures 1900-1952, Studies in Comparative Literature 5 [Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina University, 1953]; Louis T. Milic, Style and Stylistics: An Analytical Bibliography [New York: Free Press, 1967]; and for the Bible under the important impact of the works of Erich Auerbach (see especially his Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957]) and Martin Buber (see Schriften zur Bibel, and together with Franz Rosenzweig, Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung [Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936]). Although the two approaches are different--Auerbach is more sensitive to the "esthetic" impression and Buber is more attentive to the working of the text, its internal structure, the keywords, etc.--both are concerned with a "close reading" of the text in its finished state. First started in Europe, this approach has been championed by professor Luis Alonso-

brought in the literary structure of the text; and we are interested in the verbal texture of the text as in stylistics only to the extent that it appears to serve this

Schökel of the Biblical Pontifical Institute (see "Die stilistische Analyse bei den Propheten," VTSup 7 [1960]: 154-64 and first of all his great book in Spanish, Estudios de poética hebrea [Barcelone: J. Flors, 1963]). Then in Germany (L. Krinetzki, "Zur Poetik und Exegese von Psalm 48," BZ 4 [1960]: 70-97; cf. also his stylistic study on Isaiah, "Zur Stylistik von Jesaja 40:1-8," BZ 16 [1972]: 54-69; Graf H. Reventlow, "Der Psalm 8," Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 1 [1967]: 304-32), in France (see André Neher, L'Exil de la Parole [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970]; cf. also his book De l'Hébreu au Français [Paris: Klincksiek, 1969]--his methodological introduction), in Israel (Meir Weiss, שיטת מחקר והסתכלות במקרא על פי עיקר מדע הספרות כדמיון [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1962]; cf. his course at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem "Job from a Literary Point of View," Jerusalem, 1973-74) and in the United States under the concept of "Rhetorical Criticism" (especially James Muilenburg, "Isaiah," IB 5:381-418; 422-773. See also his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature on December 5, 1968, "Form Criticism and Beyond," JBL 88 [1969]: 1-18. For a bibliography of his works see Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson, eds., Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg [New York: Harper & Bros., 1962] and Jared J. Jackson and Martin Kessler, eds., Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg, Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 1 [Pittsburg: Pickwick Press, 1974], in Japan (see Kiyoshi Kinoshita Sacon, "Isaiah 40:1-11--A Rhetorical-Critical Study," in Rhetorical Criticism, ed., Jackson and Kessler, p. 99; Masao Sekine, "Tradition and Individuality in the Hebrew Prophets--From the Stylistic Point of View--," in Senkyo To Shingaku: Evangelism and Theology: Essays in Honor of Junichi Asano, ed. N. Tajima [Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1964], pp. 69-95) this approach seems to be gaining more and more place in biblical studies as Wolfgang Richter has recently noticed (Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft: Entwurf einer alttestamentlichen Literaturtheorie und Methodologie [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971]).

It is moreover interesting to notice that this kind of exegesis seems to be attested already in the ancient midrashic interpretation, as Weiss puts it: "'close reading' (המקרא כדמיון) 'קריאתם של פרשינו במקרא היא הדוגמא ל' (p. 24).

specific way of expression that is the literary structure.

The nature of this approach which brings in a "wrestling" with the text and which involves the human factors of attention, sensitivity and intuition,¹ appeals however for a serious control, that we may be sure that this literary structure was indeed the one which has been intended and not the result of "selective description."²

1. Looking at the text of the creation story as it presents itself to us,³ we shall attempt to perceive

¹The "scientific" value of such a methodology has no more need to be proved; most scholars assume it today and consider it as an important tool of work in the research, as the CNRS chemistry scholar Miss Christiane de Lozé puts it: "Un concept ne se définit qu'au terme d'une recherche intuitive plus ou moins longue" ("Les témoins de l'auditeur," in Exégèse et Herméneutique, ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour, coll. "Parole de Dieu" [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971], p. 22). And this principle is particularly true in literary study as Pierre Guiraud emphasizes: "Au niveau de la compréhension et de l'appréciation des textes, l'intuition, le goût restent seuls juges" (La Stylistique, coll. "Que sais-je?," 6th ed. [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970], p. 126).

²The expression is from Anne Cluysenaar who criticizes thereby the subjectivity of similar tentatives in exegesis (Introduction to Literary Stylistics: A Discussion of Dominant Structures in Verse and Prose [London: Batsford, 1976], p. 16). Cf. also J. van der Ploeg's stricture against the method of Alonso-Schökel which he regards as a "pure description des phénomènes stylistiques" (L'étude du Psautier 1960-1967, in De Mari à Qumran: L'Ancien Testament, son milieu, ses écrits, ses relectures juives: Hommage à Mgr J. Coppens, ed. Henry Cazelles, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 24 [Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1969; Paris: P. Lethiel-leux, 1969], p. 189).

³This approach to the text has been greatly neglected by biblical scholars, as J. P. Fokkelmann notices it: "For one or two centuries they have expended such 'enormous efforts' in framing theories on the origin of biblical texts and on the history of their transmission

a literary structure which will be in agreement with the inner thematic situation and not in dissociation from it.¹ We shall work from the presupposition of the unity of the text. Although our starting point is the same as in Beauchamp, Hermant, Monsengwo Pasinya,² i.e., the text in its present form as is also the case in the stylistic approach, our perspective, is, however, essentially different from the "structuralist" approach in the sense the structuralists depict the structure with

that the study of the text itself, which is 'only' the final shape of the tradition, but, for all that, the only one given, seems to have suffered somewhat. The diachronic study of texts, carried out under the banner of Formgeschichte, Überlieferungsgeschichte etc., and the tools that are at its service have been developed to such an extent that the synchronic analysis and description of texts have been neglected, at least in Old Testament studies" (Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 17 [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975], p. 1). See also René Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949), p. 139; cf. also Gillis Gerleman, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics," VT 1 (1951):169. We may wonder whether von Rad did not refer to this kind of methodology as he called for a "resolute synchronism" as a means to temper the "strongly marked interest in history and in the passage of time in matter of religion" ("The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," in The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966], p. 29). Unfortunately he did not succeed, himself, in avoiding the danger of a resolute diachronic approach, namely, "the profoundly disintegrating effect which has been one result of this method of hexateuchal criticism" (ibid., p. 1). It is moreover noteworthy that the two fathers of structuralism, namely, Ferdinand de Saussure and Claude Lévi-Strauss, have emphasized the synchronic analysis over the diachronic analysis (cf. Polzin, Biblical Structuralism, p. 17).

¹Cf. supra p. 12.

²Cf. supra pp. 10-11.

the purpose of finding the deep strata,¹ i.e., the different versions, while we draw out the structure on the basis of the whole material which is provided by our text, both on the plane of content and on the plane of expression.²

We do not deliberately want to ignore the historical process which might have been behind the composition. But it is our concern to provide a control to the literary analysis, at least from the only literary data we have, i.e., the text in its present totality.

And here we not only diverge from the structuralist approach but also from the historical-critical approach of Wellhausen.³ We think indeed that the words

¹Cf. also Robert M. Polzin, "The Framework of the Book of Job," Int 28 (1974):182-200, and Dan O. Via, "The Relation of Form and Content in the Parables: The Wedding Feast," Int 25 (1971):171-34. Cf. Polzin, Biblical Structuralism, p. 49.

²The two planes are generally put in dichotomy implying thereby an opposition between stylistic or rhetorical criticism (see James Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond," pp. 1-18 and Addison Wright, "The Riddle of the Sphinx: The Structure of the Book of Qoheleth," CBQ 30 [1968]:313-34) and structuralism (see Polzin, "The Framework of the Book of Job" and Via, "The Relation of Form and Content in the Parables: The Wedding Feast") which attempts to "develop a systematics on the plane of content" (Polzin, Biblical Structuralism, p. 49). And since our perspective is concerned with the connection between "content" and "expression" it is expected that we relate on the way somehow to both methodologies.

³In this sense certain aspects of Julius Wellhausen's approach might be labelled as structuralist: "Criticism has not done its work when it has completed the mechanical distribution of the various sources; it must aim further at bringing the different writings when thus arranged into relation with each other, must seek to

or other constitutive elements of the text must not be taken in isolation but in relationship to the rest. Moreover, we assume that these elements are not determining the meaning of the whole, but rather that the whole must determine the specific meaning of these elements.¹

It seems to us that this principle is overlooked when the strata are drawn through the whole text on the basis of the constitutive elements of the text only. To work with the presupposition of the disunity of the text, i.e., from "isolation" rather than from the "connection,"²

render them intelligible as phases of a living process, and thus to make it possible to trace a graduated development of the tradition" (Wellhausen, Prolegomena, p. 295). This one of the most typical paragraphs from Wellhausen's Prolegomena has been designated as a "clear and succinct description of a 'structuralist' enterprise written in 1878" (Polzin, Biblical Structuralism, p. 127; cf. also *ibid.* p. 16).

¹Cf. *supra* p. 17.

²It seems to us that this particular weakness is especially prominent in Martin Noth's methodology. Indeed one of the basic principles of Noth's work is the presupposition of the existence of separate rather than connected motifs in the Pentateuch. "Then the further we move back in the traditio-historical analysis of the Pentateuchal narrative the more we come to separate items of information. The implications for the reconstruction and presentation of the historical beginnings of Israel are obvious. It is no longer possible for us to ascertain any connections between these initial stages" (Martin Noth, A History of Pentateuchal Traditions [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972], p. 258). And the consequently following guideline which recalls the developmentalism of Wellhausen: "Earliest traditions are formulated in small units and in concise style in contrast to later material which tends to appear in large units composed in discursive (ausgeführt) style" (*ibid.*, p. 189).

A criticism has been brought against this aspect

may indeed be the door that opened all speculative reconstruction.¹

2. The literary structure of the so-called P creation story will be drawn out by reference to a text which happens to invite a structural comparison. A control provided by the mere logic of the exegete appears to be insufficient, however good it is. The intentionality of the literary structure would indeed be largely supported if the same structure were attested elsewhere, and especially if it were present in a document of the same type. The latter we shall designate by the neutral siglum C' whereas the biblical creation story with which we are concerned is the "pericope"² of Gen 1:1-2:4a,³ which we label with the siglum C.

Thus instead of establishing the literary structure on the basis of classification of motifs and formulae, according to "patterns" which may or may not belong

of Noth's approach by Bernhard W. Anderson in his introduction to Noth, *ibid.*, p. xxx, and Frank M. Cross (Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], p. 88).

¹Von Rad himself warns against this kind of approach: "One can but sound a note of warning with regard to all reconstructions which derive from one single line of descent where questions of sacral history are at issue" ("The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," p. 47).

²The term "pericopes" will be henceforth generally used to designate these texts (C and C') in order to keep their literary neutrality.

³These limitations are yet temporary since their establishment remains to be demonstrated on account of the structure (see *infra* pp. 51-75).

to the text, after the procedure of the structuralist school,¹ or in the light of a close description and statistical evaluation of the stylistic situation, after the procedure of the stylistic school, both schools attempting to find their control in the text itself, we want to ascertain the "design" under the control of a reference which we shall check outside of the text.² Even any classification of a structural type or any description of a stylistic type which we may use on the way will have to be supported by this reference.

Our analysis is indebted to structuralism insofar as we have the same concern of treating the text as a whole and its elements in relationship to each other and

¹See Beauchamp, "Autour du premier chapitre de la Genèse," p. 60; idem, Création et Séparation, pp. 19-21; cf. Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, pp. 49-55; cf. Monsengwo Pasinya, pp. 226-38; Hermant, p. 440, etc. Cf. supra p. 15.

²A similar approach has recently been used by Luis Alonso-Schökel as he dealt with Gen 2-3: "The literary text is explained by comparison with a model, which in turn had been extracted conjecturally from the text. Since there is no really parallel text outside the Bible, we end up with nothing more than a circular proof [emphasis supplied] of what we had constructed" ("Sapiential and Covenant Themes in Gen 2-3," in Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom, ed. James L. Crenshaw, The Library of Biblical Studies [New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1976], p. 470). Cf. Deist: "Stiluntersuchung als literarkritisches Verfahren ist immer Stilvergleichung" (p. 328); cf. also Nils E. Enkvist, Linguistic Stylistics, Janua linguarum, Series critica 5 (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), p. 21.

insofar as we are sensitive to the regularity and the harmony of the discourse.¹

Our analysis may be designated as stylistic

¹This methodology has come as a result of the joined influence of recent works in linguistics and in ethnology; in linguistics especially under Ferdinand de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, ed. Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, with Albert Reidlinger (London: P. Owen, 1961), in ethnology especially under Claude Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, 2 vols. (New York: Basic Books, 1963-76). This methodology has been applied to literature in general, see especially Ronald Barthes, "Science Versus Literature," in Introduction to Structuralism, ed. Michael Lane (New York: Basic Books, 1970). For an analysis and an introduction to the methodology, see especially Richard T. DeGeorge, and Fernande M. DeGeorge, ed., The Structuralists: From Marx to Lévi-Strauss (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1972); Roland Barthes, Elements of Semiology: Writing Degree Zero (London: Cape, 1969); Robert Scholes, Structuralism in Literature: An Introduction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974). For its application to biblical studies, see especially David Robertson, "The Bible as Literature," IDBSup, pp. 549-50; Robert M. Polzin, Biblical Structuralism; Paul Beauchamp, "L'analyse structurale et l'exégèse biblique," in VTSup 22, Congress volume, Uppsala (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 113-28; Alain Blancy, "Structuralisme et herménautique," Etudes théologiques et religieuses 48 (1973):49-60; Henri Bouillard, "Exégèse et herménautique et théologie: Problèmes de méthode," in Exégèse et Herménautique, ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour, coll. "Parole de Dieu" (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971), pp. 271-83; François Bovon, ed., Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1971); idem, "Le structuralisme français et l'exégèse biblique," in Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique, pp. 9-25; Robert Culley, "Some Comments on Structural Analysis and Biblical Studies," in VTSup 22, Congress volume, Uppsala (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 129-42; Michel van Esbroeck, Herménautique, structuralisme et exégèse: Essai de logique kérygmaticque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968); Richard Jacobson, "The Structuralists and the Bible," INT 27 (1974):146-64; Xavier Léon-Dufour, "Exégètes et Structuralistes," Recherches de Science Religieuse 58 (1970):4-15; Daniel Patte, What is Structural Exegesis?; Xavier Léon-Dufour, ed., Exégèse et herménautique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971); Robert A. Spivey, "Structuralism and Biblical Studies: The Uninvited Guest," Int 28 (1974): 133-45.

insofar as we share with this methodology its particular concern of careful attention to the text in its finished state.

Yet since these methods do not constitute a summa dogmatica, one can be inspired by them without being constrained by them.¹

Moreover, the young age of these methodologies, in addition to the particular involvement of intuition which characterizes any literary study, made difficult the establishment of distinctive branches. Scholars who refer to them are still creative in terms of methodology.²

Thus, in some respects, our methodology is also independent, not only because of our concern to be utterly determined by and open to the life of the text, "honestly," without always knowing in advance where we are going, but also on account of the newness of the fields

¹Cf. Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 14.

²For the stylistic cf. especially Guiraud's warning, "On ne saurait donc concevoir une science de la critique stylistique car il y a autant de critiques que de textes et de lecteurs et il est bon qu'il en soit ainsi. Si la critique stylistique a tout à gagner aux observations d'une science du style, elle doit finalement en transcender les catégories nécessairement étroites" (p. 126).

For the situation in structuralism, cf. the significant discussions which are reported in Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato, eds., The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man: The Structuralist Controversy (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1970) and especially the principle which has been laid as a warning throughout this debate, namely, "The danger was clearly that of deforming a method or a 'family of methods' into a doctrine" (ibid., p. ix).

because we are not always fully conscious of the methodology we are using,¹ working indeed under the control of the comparison with the other text (C'), but also assuming a methodology of risk because it is built on a dialogue between the text and us--methodology which may eventually find its definition and its justification in the process. Accordingly, if the literary structure happens to be found, it will not be so much because of the value of the methodology as because it was essentially "there," in the text.

Once so indentified, it will then be interesting to investigate in a further step to what extent this literary structure has been supported by biblical texts referring in some way to the biblical creation pericope, to what extent the Bible attests a reference to C which may imply this literary structure.

Finally, insofar as the literary structure of the biblical creation pericope (C) has been established in relationship to its control-text (C') and supported by the internal biblical witness, we shall move to a third issue: To what extent has this composition of the biblical text really been a creative production, to what extent has the purposeful and intentional literary structure not been

¹Cf. Albert Einstein's aphorism: "Of what is significant in one's own existence one is hardly aware, and it certainly should not bother the other fellow. What does a fish know about the water in which he swims all his life?" (Out of My Later Years [New York: Philosophical Library, 1950], p. 5).

the result of literary influences from the outside? A confrontation will then take place between the biblical creation pericope and texts of the ancient Near East which appear to echo the literary structure of the biblical pericope.

Plan

On a first stage we shall attempt to establish the literary structure of the biblical creation pericope: (1) On the level of the creation pericope C in relationship to C'; (2) on the level of the biblical stream of tradition which happens to point to the literary structure of the creation pericope; and (3) on the level of those extrabiblical parallels which attest the use of a similar literary structure. In fact, a literary situation which would respond to the requirements of such a testing is extremely rare, because all these conditions are quite inexistent together. If it were the case, then we would have to reach conclusions about the intentional creativity of the biblical author.

This situation will bring us to a second stage, namely, a reconsideration of the process of the literary composition which has been at work in the production of the creation pericope. Thus we shall deal with the three basic questions which have been involved in this particular direction: (1) The question of the Documentary hypothesis, to evaluate to what extent this theory is affected

by our exegetical approach; (2) the question of the sources which have been perceived behind C; and (3) the question of the literary genre evident in C on the basis of the data provided by the internal literary key.

Finally, in a third stage, we shall come to reflect about the theological perspectives which will have to be elaborated as implications resulting from the two preceding stages: (1) A reflection about the very nature of the biblical creation pericope, which means to evaluate to what extent it has been proclaimed as a Word of God in terms of Revelation. What kind of inspiration is implied in this text? (2) A reflection about the hermeneutic of the biblical creation pericope, the way it has to be interpreted with regard to the problem of Reality. What kind of Reality is here involved? (3) A reflection about the existential dimensions of the biblical creation pericope as it has been understood by its author. What was this ancient document intended to mean for me on this level?

If our investigation happens to reach the literary structure which has been intended by the biblical author, we will then have a key from within. And this will not only enable us to enter the process of its composition but also to penetrate the thought of the author, placing us at least on a path which might lead from the "there" to the "here"--that the first Word of God may speak . . .

PART I

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE

CHAPTER I

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF C IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE CONTROL-TEXT C'

Introduction

Before the control-text C' is seen to support the literary structure of C which is revealed only by a comparative analysis, there must be some tokens in C' which, being striking from the outset, have led to its choice; and in fact three elements have drawn our attention to the so-called Yahwistic creation pericope (Gen 2:4b-25).

Content

It may be said that both pericopes describe the creative activity of God in two opposite symmetrical ways. C emphasizes the universal aspect of this creation: God appears there transcendent and far from man. C' emphasizes on the contrary the particular aspect of this creation in relation to man. God appears there immanent and close to man.¹

¹Arthur Geddes has described the very peculiarity of this opposition: "Two accounts of creation which stand in utter contrast. In the first account, the scene is the Universe itself; in the second, the main story takes place in a walled garden situated in a particular locality, Eden. . . . In the whole range of world religions--full of internal contradictions though each one may be--no two stories, heading a single scriptural sequence,

Language

Each creation pericope uses its specific name for God. This fact has generally been interpreted as pointing to two different sources.¹ It has, however, been demonstrated that the variation of the names of God must not be taken as an absolute indication of different sources.² As a matter of fact the so-called E and P strands, which are supposedly characterized by the presence of the name Elohim, attest also the presence of the name YHWH. The same is conversely true for the so-called J strand, which uses also the name Elohim.³ This has

present a more direct opposition of imagery and myth, a more complete antithesis, than these" ("Creation: A Study of the Contrasted Accounts in Genesis," Hibbert Journal 44 [1945]:22).

¹Cf. *infra* pp. 137-38.

²See Edmond Jacob: "Il y a longtemps qu'on a reconnu que la variation par un même auteur des noms divins ne permettait pas d'en faire un critère absolu de distinction: (L'Ancien Testament, coll. "Que sais-je?" [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970], p. 36).

³See Melvin G. Kyle, "No clear division can be effected, i.e., there are cases where the MT of Genesis makes P or E use the Tetragrammaton or J 'Elohim'; in some of these cases the critics can suggest no reason; in others they are compelled to assume that the MT is corrupt for no better reason than that it is in conflict with their theory. Again the exigencies of the theory frequently force the analyst to sunder verses or phrases that cannot be understood apart from their present contexts, e.g., in Gen 28:21. Carpenter assigns the words 'and Jeh will be my God' to J, while giving the beginning and the end of the verse to E; in chap 31, ver 3 goes to a redactor, though E actually refers to the statement of ver 3 in ver 5; in chap 32, ver 30 is torn from a J-context and given to E, thus leaving ver 31 (J) unintelligible" ("Pentateuch," The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, ed. James Orr [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1939], 4:2302).

always been one of the traditional difficulties of the Documentary hypothesis which has led its supporters to seek for additional supports elsewhere.¹ Indeed, the two creation pericopes of Genesis are the only texts clearly delimited in content as well as in language and which happen at the same time to use systematically and regularly a distinctive name of God. This phenomenon would seem to suggest rather an intentional literary purpose. If this were the case, it would mean that C or C' has been written in relationship to the other. C' could then be read in connection with C.

Transmission

From the literary point of view C and C' are connected by means of the fact that they have been placed one immediately following the other. This connection of the two "traditions" is not without meaning,² for C' is not the only other passage in the Bible which is concerned with the creation motif.

These three considerations invite an analysis of the nature of this connection, beyond the surface level of the "signified"--or content--testing it also on the

¹Cf. infra p. 140.

²Cf. the provocative question of P. E. S. Thompson: "When these two accounts are interpreted in isolation from each other, have we really grasped the intention behind their combination?" ("The Yahwist Creation Story," VT 21 [1971]:199).

level of the "signifier"--or expression¹--as it appears essentially in the literary structure of the two pericopes.

Thus, if a structural correspondence is attested between C and C', we will have then a control and the literary structure of C will be ascertained, disclosing itself as the result of a deliberate intention.

The first step of our investigation will be concerned with the make-up of the body, in order to discover to what extent C is to be related to C' with regard to the literary structure. When this correspondence between the bodies of the pericopes has been established, we shall come to the problem of their delimitation, i.e., the introductions and the conclusions. For as the respective bodies of C and C' are recognized by all scholars, the delimitations can be discussed.² Therefore, the question of the boundaries must be treated only after and in the light of the stylistic indications which have been observed on the level of the bodies of the pericopes.

¹For this terminology, see Patte, p. 28, and Robert Detweiler, Story, Sign, and Self: Phenomenology and Structuralism as Literary Critical Methods, Society of Biblical Literature, Semeia Sup. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), p. 18.

²Cf. *infra* pp. 60, 75, n. 1, and the appendix, pp. 245-58.

Correspondences between
the Bodies

It must be made certain that the structural correspondence between C and C' will not be artificially arranged. We shall base our investigations upon objective observations which truly point to a reading of C in relationship to C', examining to what extent the literary structure of C recurs in C', creating the same effect.

Our investigations will be then concerned in a first step with establishing the voluntary dynamic character of C in comparison with C' in an attempt to establish whether the number of intentionally marked sections in C are in the same way indicated in C', producing the same "rhythmic" movement. Then we shall pay attention to the way the basic themes are presented in C and C' according to the same pattern. Finally, we shall consider the essential perspective of C in comparison with C' in order to determine in what respect they have also to be referred to in terms of "harmony."

Rhythmic Correspondence

The initial data of the creation pericopes in Genesis indicates that we have the same number of sections in C as in C'. Furthermore, in both C and C', each section is introduced by means of the same pattern of expression:

C: ויאמר אלהים, nine times

C': ויִיְהוֹה אלהים, nine times¹

Moreover, these nine expressions occur in C and in C' in the same pattern of distribution as follows:

C	C'
1st section:	
1:1-5, 1x ויאמר אלהים	2:7 1x ויִיְהוֹה אלהים
2d section:	
1:6-8, 1x "	2:8, 1x "
3rd section:	
1:9-13, 2x "	2:9-15, 2x "
4th section:	
1:14-19, 1x "	2:16, 1x "
5th section:	
1:20-21, 1x "	2:18, 1x "
6th section:	
1:24-31, 3x "	2:19-22, 3x "

This amazing regularity in the use of the same

¹In all instances the imperfect form is used. It is noteworthy that all the introductory verbs start with the same phonetic imagery, four ויִצַּח and one ויִטַּח. They are the only verbs of this kind in the text. As for the two usages ויאמר which are exceptions, they are also unique to the text. In fact, they are echoing each other, the second which is related to Adam is but the answer to the first which is related to God (see Jacques Doukhan, "L'Hébreu en Vie: Langue hébraïque et civilisation prophétique: Etude structurale" [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Strasburg, 1973] and idem, "Gedanken zur religiösen Intoleranz über das Verbrechen Kains," Gewissen und Freiheit 9 [1977]:5-9 translation of "A propos du crime de Cain," Conscience et Liberté 12 (1976):44-48]).

pattern of expression (which occurs nine times¹ neither more nor less) in both pericopes in addition to the same distribution in the six sections² in C as in C' suggests strongly a common framework for both.

We are not surprised, as we consider the last phase of creative work of God in the two pericopes, that we are here again confronted with a corresponding literary movement. As a matter of fact the two biblical creation pericopes end in a similar process. Yet this last step is very particular as regards the preceding and merits our special attention.

In C the final act which is performed on the seventh day is concerned with the end of the process of the creation in its totality (heaven and earth) and brings up, in connection with this, the concept of Sabbath rest. That is to say, the last and seventh act is in essence different from the six previous ones.

The same is true of C' where the last and seventh section is also concerned with the end of the process of

¹Some see ten words of God by counting also the וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים of v. 28 (see Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 74); cf. also Cassuto who quotes Mishnah Abot 5:1 as the expression of the tradition according to which the world has been created through ten words (Commentary on Genesis, 1:14). Yet the expression is stylistically different and would break the regularity (cf. B. Talmud Roš Haššana 32a and Megilla 21b which count only nine words).

²Once in the first section, once in the second, twice in the third and in the fourth, once in the fifth, three times in the sixth, in C as in C'.

the creation of man in its totality (man and woman) and brings up, in connection with this, the concept of the unity of the couple, the marriage.

We should expect, therefore, that the way the last section will be expressed in C and C' will be different. Whereas the six effective creative acts in C are regularly introduced with the same וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, the seventh one is introduced with . . . וַיִּכְלֹךְ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ. In the former God is the subject following the verb for bringing about the creation. In the latter we have creation as the subject following a passive verb,¹ expressing the result of the action.² In the former the idea is that God created: creation is described as a process. In the latter the idea is that creation is created: creation is summed up in its finished state.

In C' the six previous creative works are regularly introduced with the same pattern of expression, namely, an imperfect verb and יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים, but the seventh one is introduced by וַיֹּאמֶר הָאֱדָם.

In the six previous sections we have God as the subject following the verb expressing creation. In the

¹The concern of correspondence might explain this exceptional usage of יִכְלֹךְ (the only place of the Bible where we find this form of the verb). See also the profusion of passive forms in C' (cf. infra p. 45, n. 2) which indicates once more that the author composes in a parallelism of thought.

²In the seventh section of C and of C' the classical expression וַיִּיְהוֶה אֱלֹהִים--וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים is absent.

seventh section we have creation as the subject following the verb that expresses the result of creation: appreciation by man.

In the six previous sections the idea is that God created: creation is described as a process. In the seventh section the idea is that the creation is created: man is introduced in finished state. Thus we note that the last rhythmic step in each is broken but they correspond to each other in C and C'.

This correspondence does not only come in the break of the rhythm, i.e., in the introductory words: ויכלו השמים והארץ, ויאמר האדם, ויכל; it is also evident in the same figure of repetitive pattern in both pericopes: a/ab/b/b/; x/xy/y/y:

[C]

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | . . . ויכלו (a) |
| 2 | . . . ויכל (ab) |
| 3 | (וישבת) . . . ביום השביעי . . . מלאכתו (b) |
| | אשר עשה |
| 4 | (ויברך) . . . יום השביעי . . . מלאכתו (b) |
| | אשר . . . לעשות |

[C']

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | . . . זאח (x) |
| 2 | . . . אישה . . . לזאח (xy) |
| 3 | . . . איש . . . (עליכך) (y) |
| 4 | . . . אישחר . . . (ודבק) (y) |

Thematic Correspondence

The rhythmic correspondence that was just noticed will be supported by a consideration of the sequence of the themes which are reported in the two pericopes under study. The following is a schematic presentation of this thematic correspondence:

C	C'
1st section	
Creation of light and its relationship to darkness (1:3-5)	Formation of man and his relationship to the dust of the ground (2:7)
2d section	
Creation of heavenly firmament (1:6-8)	Planting of earthly garden (concretely localized in the East <u>and</u> for man) (2:8)
3rd section	
Waters and land delimited; Appearance of plants (1:9-13)	Waters and land delimited; Man put in charge of mastering and keeping the earth of Eden ¹ (2:9-15)

¹This connotation of נָחַל appears especially in association with שָׁמַר which has mostly a cultic and religious meaning (to keep the law of God, to serve Him). When they are used together the idea of cultic service is conveyed (cf. Num 18:4, 7 and Exod 12:25), as is correctly pointed out by Cassuto (Commentary on Genesis 1:122) and as the Midrash has understood it (see Berakot Rabbah 16:5) to which Cassuto refers. For Alonso-Schökel also "these verbs are technical terms used frequently for

4th section

Creation of the two great	Commandment to man to
lights and stars ¹ in heaven	<u>separate</u> the tree of the
to <u>separate</u> light from dark-	knowledge of good and
ness and to indicate seasons,	evil among other trees
days and years: perspective	in the garden: perspec-
of time (1:14-19)	tive of death (2:16-17)

5th section

First appearance of animal	First concern for a com-
life (birds, fish) (1:20-23)	panion for man (2:18)

the service of God and observance of the commandments" ("Sapiential and Covenant Themes in Gen 2-3," p. 474). It is noteworthy that the same association is found in ancient Babylonian literature (cf. Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis 1:122). Yet the service and guarding of man is there connected with God whereas it is related to the earth in Gen 2 since the expression is technical. Its use by the biblical author would have been then intentional to convey behind the connection of work (עֲמָלָה) and the earth the idea of service of the earth in the sense of dominion.

This particular connotation might be echoed in the strange עֲמָלָה of Eccl 5:8: "A king the field of which is dominated," that is, a king who is master of his richness and of his work--is a blessing for the country. This interpretation would have the merit of fitting better to the immediate context which indeed is concerned with the concepts of poverty and work (cf. v. 11 where the word עֲמָלָה recurs in its active form: עָמַל) and to the larger context of Ecclesiastes which is often assumed as containing "echoes of the early chapters of Genesis" (O. S. Rankin, "Ecclesiastes," IB 5:27; cf. Hans W. Hertzberg, Der Prediger [Gütersloh: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1963], pp. 228-29; cf. André Neher, Notes sur le Qohélét [L'ecclésiaste] [Paris: Minuit, 1951]; cf. Alonso-Schökel, "Sapiential and Covenant Themes in Gen 2-3," p. 473).

¹For this way of putting the stars as an appendix, cf. *infra* p. 157.

6th section

Creation of animals and
their relation to man

--image of God: two corollaries:

. dominion of man over animal (mention of birds)

Creation of animals and
their relation to man

--creation in image of God implied in fact that God brings animals to be named by man¹

--dominion of man over animal² (mention of birds)

¹In the Bible God is the giver of names, i.e., the one who brings into existence. And the desire of the men of the tower of Babel, e.g., to make them a name, was in fact a kind of theo-usurpation. Now if God brings animals to be named by man, He thereby raises him to His likeness. Delitzsch points to this as he comments: "God does not order him to name them; but by bringing the beasts He gives him an opportunity of developing that intellectual capacity which constitutes his superiority to the animal world" (Pentateuch, 1:88). Cf. Robert Davidson: "The meaning of 'in our image' may be defined by what follows in v. 26: 'and let them have dominion' . . . Just as God is Lord over all creation, so man reflects this lordship in his relationship to the rest of creation. The thought is developed in Ps 8:3-8" (The Old Testament, Knowing Christianity [Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1964], p. 194).

²In the biblical civilization as in the ancient Near East, the giving of names was the classical procedure to express both the establishment of a covenant between two parts and at the same time to mark the dominion of one over the other (see Gen 32:28; 41:45; Dan 1:7). Cf. Benno Jacob: "This is another expression for his dominion over them (1:26-28). Man himself receives his name from God (5:2)" (The First Book of the Bible: Genesis [New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1974], p. 20). Cf. Jean Laroche: "Nom," Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible, les choses, les hommes, les faits, les doctrines, ed. Alexander Westphal (Valence-sur-Rhône: Imprimeries Réunies, 1956), 2:224, who emphasized the relationship aspect in the biblical giving of names. Cf. Cassuto: "The naming of something or someone is a token of lordship (cf. Num 32:38; 2 Kgs 23:34; 24:17; 2 Chr 36:4). The Lord of the universe names the parts of the universe and its time-divisions

. man created male and female		--relationship between man and animal ¹
--relationship between man and animal ¹ (1:24-31)	X	--man created male and female (2:19-22)

7th section

End of the process of the crea- tion in its totality (heaven, earth, all the hosts of them)	End of the process of the creation of man in its totality (man and woman)
--God is involved in this last phase	--God is involved in this last phase ²

(1:5, 8, 10), and He left it to man to determine the names of those creatures over which He had given him dominion" (Commentary on Genesis 1:130). Cf. Claus Westermann: "Names are given primarily to living beings because they stand closest to men: what is originally named is not what exists, but what is encountered" (Creation [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971], p. 85).

¹The idea of a kind of relationship is implicit in the text. It is indeed significant that the dominion by man over the animals is immediately followed by the mention of the food which is designated both to him and to the animal, i.e., the product of plants (1:28-30). It is also noteworthy that we find the same association of thoughts in Gen 9:1-3. There animals have become man's food and this mention is associated with the idea of dominion by man over animal though in terms of fear.

²Not only implicitly in the use of the passive (niphal, pual) which conveys the idea of an intervention from outside, hence God, who is still the only "other" (for the biblical usage of the passive as referring to God, see Lev 13:7; Luke 5:20. Cf. Hans K. LaRondelle, Perfection and Perfectionism: A Dogmatic-Ethical Study of Biblical Perfection and Phenomenal Perfectionism, Studies in Religion 3, 2d ed. [Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1975], pp. 127-128, and Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, 2 vols. [New York: Harper & Row, 1962-65], 1:247-48, 261-62) with regard to man, but also more explicitly in the sense of the verbs: נִצַּח points to the future destiny the conduction of which belongs to God, and לָקַח points to the past act of the taking of the woman from the man whose subject is God.

--theme of separation; the שבת comes out of a separation from all (מכל) the work which He has done	--theme of separation; the formation of the couple comes out of a separation from the father and the mother
--blessing of the Sabbath (idea of relationship) ¹	--man relates to his wife
--holiness (קדש) of the Sabbath (idea of union) ² (2:1-3)	--unity of the couple (2:23-24)

Indeed C and C' contain the same basic melody. Both are concerned with the idea of creation, both describe in corresponding ways themes which reflect each other and show the same sequence of seven sections.³

¹The blessing implies the idea of "an intimate relationship" (Josef Scharbert, "brk," Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, eds. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975], 2:285).

²The concept of holiness implies the idea of a special relationship to God (see Cuthbert A. Simpson, "Genesis," IB 1:490; cf. John Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis, ICC [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1910], p. 38). Thus the Sabbath was designed to become the sign par excellence of belonging to God, the expression of this relationship (Exod 31:13, 16, 17; Ezek 20:12, 20; cf. Niels-Erik A. Andreasen, The Old Testament Sabbath: A Tradition-Historical Investigation, SBLDS 7 [Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972], p. 208).

³Jerome T. Walsh sees also a division in seven sections but in the larger unit Gen 2:4b-3:24 ("Genesis 2:4b-3:24: A Synchronic Approach," JBL 96 [1977]:161-77). Yet the way he distinguishes between the parts seems to us arbitrary and inconsistent. According to the principle of "shift in humanis personae" he refers to, the

delimitation could have indeed proceeded otherwise:

The passage 2:15-17 contained in the second section should constitute a section in itself, since here God is no more the "only active figure" (ibid., p. 161). Here man is implicitly indeed presented as active. Man is called to keep and to work the garden with the special connotation of dominion (cf. supra p. 42, n. 1) which implies strongly his active presence. And this is supported by the fact that God addresses man directly (v. 16-17).

The passage 2:18-25 of the second section could be divided into four parts; a) vv. 18-19, God is alone; b) v. 20, man only is active; c) vv. 21-22, man is passive and becomes active again in d) vv. 23-24.

Moreover, Walsh is inconsistent to include in this part v. 25, for it marks indeed a "change in literary form" (ibid., p. 161). Walsh himself is aware of this independence and comments on the verse as a "prolepsis pointing forward to 3:7" (ibid., p. 164).

The passage 3:6-8 in the fifth section could have been divided into two parts: a) v. 6 where the woman is alone; man is present in a passive role; b) vv. 7-8, "narrative with two characters."

As for the passage 3:20-21 which is placed "on a scale which transcends Gen 2:4b-3:24" (ibid., p. 169, n. 23) and especially 3:20 which is interpreted as "a proleptic reference to 4:1" (ibid.), this is first of all inconsistent with regard to the fact that 2:25, which was also interpreted as a prolepsis, was in spite of all included in the section.

Furthermore, we think that these two verses have their role within the unit. They convey indeed the dialectic life-death which the preceding verses were concerned with--life by reference to Eve the mother of all living (חַיָּה, see here A. J. Williams, "The Relationship of Gen 3:20 to the Serpent," *ZAW* 89 [1977]:357-74), death by reference to the coats of skins--and thereby constitute a perfect transition to the following verses which deal with the fact that man has no more access to the tree of life (חַיָּה). Thus they should be taken into account; this will bring up two more sections: the first where man is the only active person (cf. v. 20) and Eve is passive; the second where God is the only active one and man and woman are passive.

As a matter of fact, the method of Walsh is quite disputable. His division is not supported by objective signs in the text as is the case in C and in C'. Moreover, the literary concept of scenes he borrows from Gunkel (see ibid., p. 161, n. 2) would have been hardly known by the biblical author and this division would have been haphazard. This would not agree with the number of "seven" sections which points rather to an intentional process of writing.

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Furthermore, the parallelism is so consistent that it is evident even in the internal movement of thematic repetition which manifests a symmetry between the first three sections and the last three sections.¹ The thematic echo may be indicated as follows:

C

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Creation of light (1:3) | 4. Creation of luminaries
(1:14) |
| 2. Creation of firmament
(1:6) | 5. Creation of birds (1:20) |
| 3. Appearance of plants
(1:11) | 6. Plants designed for food
(1:29-30) |

¹This arrangement has been noticed for C but to our knowledge not for C' (see William H. G. Thomas, Genesis: A Devotional Commentary [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1946], p. 29, and Godfrey R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends [Edinburg: T. and T. Clark, 1956], p. 2; cf. also Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 41; Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 54). Julius Wellhausen has criticized this tabulation by pointing out its imperfections:

light	heaven	water	earth
stars	fish	birds	animals
			man

(see Prolegomena, p. 297). But he does not do justice to the echo aspect of the text; a repetition of a motif does not necessarily signify limitation to this very motif.

An eightfold parallelism has been defended by Robert H. Pfeiffer who bases his demonstration upon the observation of "the correlation between the elements and their respective inhabitants" (Introduction to the Old Testament [New York: Harper & Bros., 1941], p. 195). Cf. also Gunkel, Die Urgeschichte und die Patriarchen, pp. 109-110. Against the latter proposal, see the criticism of Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 42.

Cf. also Alfred Bertholet who proposes a tenfold parallelism ("Zum Schöpfungsbericht in Genesis 1," JBL 53 [1934]: 239).

Yet two reasons have led us to prefer the three-fold one: (1) The distribution of the motifs respects the delimitation of the structure in six sections, i.e.,

C'

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. Dust (2:7) | 4. Death (2:17) |
| 2. A garden for man (2:8) | 5. A companion for man (2:18) |
| 3. Dominion over garden
of Eden (2:15) | 6. Dominion over animals
(2:20) |

Contrast in Harmony

The basic correspondence between C and C' must not make us blind to the fact that there are some differences. This is already apparent from the outset as part of the signified: C describes a creation with a universalistic emphasis--God is transcendent. Stress is placed on creation as a whole in which man occupies a place among other things, whereas C' brings to us particularly the creation of man--God is immanent. He is close to man. Man has moved to the center.

This difference, however, points also to a relationship between C and C'. The symmetric character of their respective basic concerns seems indeed to leave us with a kind of symmetric design.

The rhythm of C is along seven steps regularly divided and introduced by the same stylistic expression וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים. In each case it is the same action, i.e., God speaks.

C' is also regularly divided and introduced by a stylistic expression of the same pattern which articulates

one motif for each of them; (2) it has its symmetric correspondent in C'.

different divine actions (ויצור, ויצמח, ויטע, ויאמר, ויאמר, ויאמר).

And while at the seventh step the rhythm is broken and changes in C as in C', the movement beats still in the same measure.

The fact that the two pericopes are composed with the same rhythm but dealing with two actions of God which are opposite in essence--monotonous in C,¹ diversified in C'--indicates that these two divine actions are described with reference to each other.

The thematic correspondences between C and C' describe, by the means of symmetry a contrast between heaven and earth--in (1), (2), (4)--and by the means of common motifs--in (3), (5), (6)--different perspectives in C and C': in C plants, animals, the woman, are created independent; in C' they are created in relationship to man.

The final section--in (7)--brings into parallelism the themes of general creation with the universalistic emphasis, and specific creation with the human emphasis together with the emphasis on the Sabbath and the first couple.

These literary features point to "essential" relations in the body of the two creation pericopes. Having recognized this we must now turn our attention to the introductions and conclusions of both.

¹Cf. Westermann, Genesis Accounts, p. 6.

Correspondences between
the Boundaries

Introductions

It has been indicated that the body is articulated in C as in C' with the same pattern of expression, providing the creation pericopes with two corresponding effects which are interrelated. We may wonder to what extent also the introductions are constructed according to a same literary pattern.

Gen 1:1-3 introduces the first "creative" act of God in C and Gen 2:4a-7 introduces the first "creative" act of God in C'. Both seem to follow exactly the same structure:

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px;">C</div>		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px;">C'</div>
1. Indication of time:		
בראשית, in the beginning	//	ביום, in the day
2. Synonymous verb: ¹		
ברא, created	//	עשה, made
3. Designation of deity:		
אלהים, God	//	יהוה אלהים, the Lord God
4. Identical object:		
שמים וארץ, heaven and earth	//	ארץ ושמים, earth and heaven ²

¹Cf. infra p. 199, n.1. Cf. Skinner's comment on ברא: "It is partly synonymous with עשה (cf. v. 21, 27 with v. 25) but 2:3 shows that it had a specific shade of meaning" (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis, p. 14).

²For the reverse order of "earth and heaven" with regards to the preceding use, see infra p. 59, n. 2.

5. Three clauses describing three situations:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. the earth was תהו
ובהו | a. not yet (טרום) plant of
field was in the earth |
| b. darkness (חשך) was
upon the face of the
deep (תהום) | b. not yet (טרום) herb of
the field had sprung up
(for God had not caused
it to rain and a man was
not [אין], to till) ¹ |
| c. the spirit (רוח) was
moving over the sur-
face of the water | c. a mist (אד) went up from
the earth and watered the
surface of the ground |

In the first two clauses (a and b) we find in both C and C' the same negative emphasis, suggesting a similar situation. In C it is expressed in terms of תהו ובהו (?), of darkness (חשך) and of abyss (תהום); in C' we find expressions of "not yet" (טרום), of non-action (לא) and non-existence (אין).

In the third clause (c) we find in both C and C' the same positive emphasis. The positive is in contrast with the negative of the two previous clauses. The reference to the רוח (spirit, wind) is not without some analogy with the one to אד (mist). Both are described in C as in C' as "coming" upon the surface² (פני) of the waters (C)

¹Notice the disjunctive zageph gaton on אין which emphasizes the non-existence of man.

²Notice the dynamism of the appearance in C (moved) and in C' (went up).

and of the ground (C'). Both express the latent creativity: the לרנ precedes and announces the creative word of God¹; the לר precedes and announces "the creative beginning of the rain" (המטיר).²

The division into three clauses in C is marked by the use of the conjunctive waw and supported by the MT accentuation. The division into three clauses in C' is also marked by the conjunctive waw and supported by the fact that each of them has one verb in an identical imperfect form (יחיה , יצמח , יעלה). This appears to point to three movements.³

The circumstantial clause "for the Lord God had not . . . the ground" is best taken to refer to (b). It serves as an explanation of the situation (no herb

¹See Ps 147:18 where the לרנ of God is also associated to his word. Cf. Daniel Lys, Rûach: Le souffle dans l'Ancien Testament: Enquête anthropologique à travers l'histoire théologique d'Israël, Etudes d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 56 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), p. 280; cf. Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 198.

²Delitzsch, Pentateuch, 1:78. William F. Albright has identified the word לר and the Babylonian Id which represents an underground current ("The Babylonian Matter in the Predeuteronomistic Primeval History (JE) in Gen. 1-11. Part 2," JBL 58 [1939]:102). Ephraim A. Speiser has preferred the etymology edû > לר in the sense of flow ("ED in the Story of Creation," BASOR 140 [1955]:9-11). At any rate, both meanings suggest an underground river which emerges over the ground to water it (cf. Philippe Reymond, L'Eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament, VTSup 6 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958]:170).

³This same movement is apparent in the three occurrences of לר , the motif of which is particularly significant here on account of the concentration on the earthly scene (cf. *infra* p. 59, n. 2).

yet) just depicted. Furthermore, a regularity of pattern is manifested in the way each is introduced¹: conjunction-subject-verb (imperfect).²

וכל שיח השדה טרם יהיה

וכל עשב השדה טרם יצמח

ואד. יעלה

The first imperfect with conversive waw, i.e., the first creative act appears then at the same moment in C as in C': ויאמר אלהים, ויצר יהוה אלהים.

The amount of "coincidences" could not be accidental. Dealing with the same problem, namely, the "state" of the earth before creation, the introduction of C has indeed been built according to the same pattern as C'. How can one not draw the last implication from this stylistic observation? The parallelism between the two introductions is a strong argument in favor of the interpretation that understands בראשית as a status constructus

¹Notice also the evident parallelism between (a) and (b) in C' which supports the "structure."

²The pattern is the more striking as it is three times against the general use which places the imperfect form before the subject. Cf. Jacques Doukhan, "Anthroponymie biblique et prophétie" (Master's Thesis in Hebrew, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, University of Strasbourg, 1971), p. 82. Cf. Martin Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament 3, 10 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), pp. 21 and 27; cf. Carl Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, 2 vols. (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903-13; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 2:170-71.

and not as a status absolutus as it has been traditionally read.¹

¹This view has been supported by philological and syntactical arguments. The philological argument has been brought forth by Paul Humbert ("Trois notes sur Genèse 1," Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift 56 [1955]:91) who draws attention to the fact that out of the fifty-one occurrences of the expression only one (Isa 46:10) may present a status absolutus form. Humbert discusses even this last case but not convincingly (see on this Herman N. Ridderbos, "Genesis 1:1 and 2," OTS 12 [1958]:217, who counters him on this point). This last case, however, might be explained on account of the poetic language which is poor in articles (see André Caquot, "Brèves remarques exégétiques sur Genèse 1:1-2," in In Principio: Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse, Centre d'Études des Religions du Livre [Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1973], p. 13). And the fact that some examples of this kind have been detected also in non-poetical texts as in Genesis (see Eduard König, Die Genesis, 2d and 3rd ed. [Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1925], p. 130) does not affect the general tendency noticed by Caquot. Walther Eichrodt, however, argues convincingly for an absolute sense of מְרֵאשִׁית upon the basis of its "correlation with אַחֲרֵית and מִקֵּדָם" ("In the Beginning: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the First Word of the Bible," in Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg, eds. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson [New York: Harper & Bros., 1962], p. 5; cf. idem, "Im Anfang: Zur Erklärung des ersten Wortes des Bible," TZ 20 [1967]:165). He nevertheless assumes the peculiarity of this case (see "In the Beginning," p. 6 and "Im Anfang," p. 166).

The syntactical argument has been noticed by Ephraim A. Speiser who argued that if the expression were a status absolutus, then "a normal consecutive statement would have begun with וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה וְהָאָרֶץ נִתְחַי" (Genesis, AB [New York: Doubleday, 1964], p. 5). This point has been countered by Claus Westermann, Genesis [Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966], pp. 133-134) in the steps of Alexander Heidel (see The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of the Creation, 2d ed. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963], p. 80) by reference to analogous passages where the subject precedes the perfect form (Gen 1:5a; 3:1; Isa 1:2b).

It seems, however, that here also the general usage is on the side of the former position (cf. Samuel R. Driver, A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and Other Syntactical Questions, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892], pp. 84-85, and Francis I. Andersen, The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew [The Hague: Mouton, 1974],

p. 86). (For the question of the reference to extra-biblical parallels as an argument to this tradition, see *infra*, pp. 129-32). Although the significance of the proportions of usage is here particularly telling, we must yet be aware of the fact that the general tendency of a usage cannot be a decisive argument. For the author could have been creative and against all expectation have a different usage (for discussion of these arguments, see especially Gerhard F. Hasel, "Recent Translations of Genesis 1:1," *BT* 22 [1971]:154-67; Weston W. Fields, *Unformed and Unfilled* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1976], pp. 149-51; Bruce K. Waltke, "The Creation Account in Genesis 1:1-3, Part 1: Introduction to Biblical Cosmogony," *BS* 132 [175]:25-36; "Part 2: The Restitution Theory," pp. 136-44; "Part 3: The Initial Chaos Theory and the Precreation Chaos Theory," pp. 216-28; "Part 4: The Theology of Genesis 1," pp. 327-42; "Part 5: The Theology of Genesis 1--Continued," 133 [176]:28-41; Cassuto, *Commentary on Genesis* 1:93, etc.). This consciousness joined with the respect to the literary liberty demands once more a careful observation of the expression as it is used in this very text and appeals thereby to a serious attention to the style which indeed affords specific data.

As for the stylistic abnormality constituted by this long sentence at the beginning in a text which is elsewhere characterized by short sentences (see Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 135, and Hasel, "Recent Translations of Genesis 1:1," p. 166), it is also supported by C' which seems to present the same stylistic abnormality, i.e., a long sentence (see *infra* pp. 57-58) within a context where the tendency is also to short sentences of the same kind as in C, e.g., "and man became a living soul" (v. 7); "and the gold of that land is good" (v. 12); "and the name of the third river is Hiddekel" (v. 14); "and the Lord God took the man" (v. 15), etc. This repeated use of the irregularity might have a stylistic purpose. The long sentence suggests rather the state of the not yet, of the nothingness which will be broken by the irruption of the creative act or word of God: the long sentence expresses something static while the short sentences express something dynamic. And the analogy is the more remarkable as both records follow the same rhythm (cf. *supra* pp. 37-41) and vibrate with the same dynamism (cf. *infra* p. 147, n. 1) since we have the same proportion of verbs in both pericopes. And if short sentences follow a very long sentence, the contrast is the more striking: it was then intentional.

On the other hand, over against the weighty tradition which brings בְּרֵאשִׁית without article (Jerome, most of the Greek texts), the extremely slight tradition which brings the article (בְּרֵאשִׁית in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Greek transcription βαρῆσιθ in the margin of a

Thus we have the same pattern of sequence of related clauses in C and C':

1) C:

1:1 Protasis: In the beginning of the creating by Elohim of heaven and earth,

1:2 Parenthesis: as the earth was without form and void and darkness was upon the surface of the deep waters and the spirit of God was moving upon the surface of the waters,

1:3 Apodosis: then Elohim said.

2) C':

2:4b Protasis: In the day of the making by YHWH Elohim of earth and heaven,

2:5-6 Parenthesis: as no plant of the field was yet in the earth,
and no herb of the field had yet sprung up, for . . . and a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole surface of the ground

2:7 Apodosis: then YHWH Elohim formed.¹

manuscript of the Hexapla), might indeed attest an old reading implying the presence of the article (see Edward P. Arbez and John P. Weisengoff, "Exegetical Notes on Genesis 1:1-2," CBQ 10 [1948]:142) but could as well be interpreted as a witness of the disturbing character of the לראשית without article (as a status absolutus would mean in a beginning) and thereby indirectly point to a status constructus).

¹William F. Albright makes the same point when he states: "There can be no doubt, in my judgment, that vss. 1-3 reflect the ancient Sumero-Accadian formula which begins all cosmogonies: 'At the time when . . . then,'

The parallelism is indeed significant and strengthens the stylistic drawing of the introduction of C.¹ The beginning of the parallelism particularly is striking and is worth being pointed out.

just as the early Israelite law codes, like the Hittite ones, reflect the Sumero-Accadian legal formulation: 'If . . . provided that . . . then.' If there were any doubt, it should be removed by the fact that the shorter and older creation account in Gn., 2, 4 ff. begins similarly: *be-yôm 'asôt Yahwêh 'elôhîm 'éres we-šamayim*, "though he places the apodosis of C' at the verse 6, i.e., "Then there sprang forth a stream from the earth and watered the whole surface of the ground . . ." ("The Refrain 'And God saw *kî tōb*' in Genesis," in *Mélanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert*, Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 4 [Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1957], p. 23).

Recently, however, Westermann in his comment of the introduction of C' has perceived its apodosis in v. 7, i.e., according to the pattern we have drawn: "The narrative begins in 2:4b by saying that when God created man nothing existed, or what was, was not as it is today. The introductory sentence 'When . . . there was not yet . . . ' is a common stylistic device in Creation narrative. It occurs in Egypt, in Mesopotamia and in many other places as well as in the introduction of the *Wessobrunner prayer* (one of the oldest poems of German literature, the first lines of which contain an account of Creation). This device, which serves as an introduction to a Creation narrative in so many places throughout the world, highlights something common to all reflection on Creation. It is easy then to grasp the following: every narrative must refer back to something which has gone before, to some given data. But there is nothing which has gone before the story of Creation. Creation can become the subject of a narrative only by means of a 'negative exposition'. 'When . . . there was not yet, then . . .'. The dependent sentence comes only in v. 7: 'then the Lord God formed man . . .'" (*Creation*, p. 74).

¹An increasing number of scholars support this position; among them we may mention William F. Albright, "Review of 'The Babylonian Genesis' by A. Heidel," *JBL* 62 (1943):369-70; Otto Eissfeldt, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *Kleine Schriften*, eds., Rudolf Sellheim and Fritz Maass, 5 vols. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1962-73), 3:256-64; Siegfried Herrmann, "Die Naturlehre des Schöpfungsberichtes: Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte von Genesis 1," *TLZ* 86 (1961):415, n. 7; Heinrich Ewald,

1:1	בראשית ברא ¹	אלהים אח	השמים	ראח הארץ ²
2:4b	ביום עשה	יהוה	אלהים	ארץ ושמים

"Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte 1, 1," Jahrbuch der Biblischen Wissenschaft 1 (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1849), pp. 76-77; Karl Budde, "Wortlaut und Werden der ersten Schöpfungsgeschichte," ZAW 35 (1915):67-70; Harry M. Orlinsky, "The New Jewish Version of the Torah: Toward a New Philosophy of Bible Translation," JBL 82 (1963): 253; Speiser, Genesis, pp. 12-13; William R. Lane, "The Initiation of Creation," VT 13 (1963):72; Cuthbert A. Simpson, "Genesis," IB 1:468. We should notice, however, that this translation has been mainly defended with the presupposition of the Formgeschichte school which assumes significant literary influences from the ancient Near Eastern myths (cf. *supra* p. 58, n. 1).

Yet recently André Neher has referred to a stylistic principle he has drawn from within the text, namely, the "lecture en une seule haleine" (De l'Hébreu au Français [Paris: Klincksiek, 1969], p. 32; cf. *idem*, L'Exil de la Parole [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970], p. 67).

¹The grammatical affinity of the perfect form with the noun yields its use in the status constructus in the same way as a noun (see for instance Hos 1:2 חֲחִילָה דָּבָר יְהוָה. The significance of this clear affinity comes out obviously in the construction of personal names (see Doukhan, "Anthroponymie Biblique et Prophétie," pp. 10, 11). The perfect form need not to be emended into an infinitive construct in order to produce clear construct claim (see for instance Rashi in his commentary on Gen 1:1 in Miqraoth geduloth [New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1951], folio 8 and the NEB translation). It is not necessary either to consider the part of 1:1 which follows בְּרֵאשִׁית as a whole dependent clause to it (see for instance Heidel, p. 92; Westermann, Genesis, p. 109).

²We may notice the way the object is respectively referred to in C and in C'. In C heaven precedes earth, in C' earth precedes heaven. On account of the correspondence between the rest we must infer the intention of this reversal in C' betraying a concentration on earth in opposition with C which conveys a general universal concern (cf. *supra* p. 33) regarding heaven and earth. In C earth is a part of the whole, in C' earth is the whole. Furthermore, the expression "earth and heaven" is rarely used in the Bible. And this kind of irregularity could be therefore interpreted as intentional in order to mark clearly the difference of viewpoint in C' in opposition with C.

It is remarkable that in the introduction the points of contact of C and C' are the most striking and most numerous. In both cases we have the same introductory clause, followed by the same articulation in three phases, unfolding after the same scheme negative-negative-positive,¹ and finally emerging in the first imperfect

This latter observation is important; once again it supports our delimitation. The previous sentence, which uses the expression "heaven and earth," belongs therefore to the terminology of C and may be considered as its conclusion (against Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis 1:96 and Derek Kidner, Genesis, The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries [Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1967], p. 59, who see the conclusion of the pericope in v. 3).

If we add the observation that the word אָרֶץ (keyword of C') is used seven times in C' including its first occurrence in 2:4b, and that the word אֵרֶץ (keyword of C) is used seven times in C, including its last occurrence in 2:4a, we have one more support not only to our delimitation but also to our literary connection between C and C'. And this remark takes all its sense as we realize from the role of the number seven in the structure of the text C. Indeed Cassuto has drawn attention to this stylistic phenomenon: "The structure of our section is based on a system of numerical harmony. Not only is the number seven fundamental to its main theme, but it also serves to determine many of its details" (Commentary on Genesis 1:12). And with the exception of some overstatements and inconsistencies (for instance he does not count אֵרֶץ because of its occurrence in Gen 2:4a), the basis principle has been recognized by many scholars; see Oswald Loretz: "Die literarische Analyse des Schöpfungsberichtes hat ergeben, dass die Zahl Sieben im Aufbau dieses Textes eine bedeutende Rolle spielt. Sie dient als stilistisches Mittel zur Bezeichnung einer Einheit, sei es nun eine sachliche oder eine zeitliche" (Schöpfung und Mythos: Mensch und Welt nach den Anfangskapiteln der Genesis, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 32 [Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968], p. 63; cf. Albright, "Refrain," p. 23; Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, pp. 71-74; pp. 71-74; Monsengwo Pasinya, pp. 228-29; Arthur W. Pink, Gleanings in Genesis [Chicago: Moody Press, 1922], p. 13). And this is one more reason to reject the reading of the LXX and of the Samaritan which read in Gen 2:4b שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ.

¹For the pattern negative-position in Hebrew

form with conversive waw which crystallizes the first creative act of God in both records of creation. This identity of structure is at least significant and supports giving attention to the affinities of expression between the two passages.¹ There is no other section in the parallelism which corresponds so perfectly in terms of structure.

We may assume that this particular form of expression was in fact intentional, the author wanting thereby to provide the literary key to the passage.² Enlightening each other³ the parallelisms might have indeed been used in order to point out the very nature of the "state"

poetry, cf. Isa 1:3; Hos 2:9, 18-19; 3:3; 4:1-2, etc. Cf. also Renaud, p. 11. See also William McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach, The OT Library (London: SCM Press, 1970), p. 416 and Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel: Exegetical Study," AUSS, forthcoming.

¹The consistency of the structural parallelism between C and C' is such that it will in no case be affected by any literary difference which might be noticed between them.

²We find the same literary situation in Mic 4:8-14, which is in parallelism with Mic 5:1-4 essentially for a theological purpose, in order to point out the two-fold face of the "Son of David" in a symmetric way (see Jacques Doukhan, Boire aux Sources [Dammarié-les-Lys, France: Les Signes des Temps, 1977], p. 78, cf. Renaud, pp. 11-26). Cf. also the study of Shemaryahu Talmon and Michael Fishbane who point out the same literary feature in the book of Ezechiel ("סגנון בסידורם של ספר יחזקאל") [Aspects of the Literary Structure of the Book of Ezekiel, Tarbiz 42 (1972):27-41].

³As far as the parallelism is assumed, the relationship between C and C' must be understood as reciprocal--C and C' enlighten and even control each other.

before creation which constitutes indeed the essential concern of the passage.

Thus the "state" before the divine creative act which is in C described in terms of חָשֶׁךְ (?), חֹהָר וְכָהָר (darkness) and תְּהוֹמִים (abyss), comes in the corresponding part of C' in terms of מָרָם (not yet), of non-action (לֹא) and of non-existence (אֵין).

We would then have to understand the biblical concept of חָשֶׁךְ, חֹהָר וְכָהָר, תְּהוֹמִים, of חָשֶׁךְ and of מֵיִם in the sense of negation. In C' the thought is placed on the human level: it is the man who is not, while in C the thought is placed on the cosmic level: it is the cosmos which is not. In C' we have a "relative" ex-nihilo conception, while in C we have an "absolute" ex-nihilo conception.¹ In C', the negation is related to what will come, i.e., the specific organic and biologic existence

¹This difference of level and of perspective may explain the difference of connotation within the similarities. The בָּרָא, for instance, is connected to עָשָׂה not only because both express a creation idea, but also in order to bring out the specific and respective connotation of each one, i.e., בָּרָא an absolute creation out of an absolute "not yet," and עָשָׂה a relative making out of a relative "not yet," (cf. infra p. 51, n. 1). Cf. Gerhard von Rad: "The Yahwist report of creation, like the Priestly account, seeks to convey an idea of chaos, but in a quite different way. Genesis 1:1ff. speaks of the Universe. The setting outlined by the Yahwist in the general introductory statement concerns the much narrower realm of the earth" (Genesis: A Commentary, The Old Testament Library [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961], p. 74). Cf. Th. C. Vriezen: "It is true that the two accounts of Creation, Gen 1 and 2:4ff. both presume the existence of a chaos before the Creation" (An Outline of Old Testament Theology [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958], p. 181).

in connection with man; in C the negation is also related to what will come, i.e., the general cosmic and universal organic and inorganic existence. It is not the concept of emptiness¹ which is here brought up; instead it is the concept of negativeness (what is not).

The best way to verify the accuracy of this observation would be to consider the biblical usage of these words. As a matter of fact the Bible attests for the words of חָהַר וּבָהַר, חָהָר, חָשֶׁךְ and מִים an understanding in the sense of negativeness.

חָהַר וּבָהַר. The only place where this expression recurs is in Jer 4:23 and it merits, because of that, a special treatment. The structure of the passage is here once more of importance in the exegesis. The construction of the passage follows in fact the sight movement of the prophet. Each stich is introduced by the same pattern of expression: "I saw and behold," רָאִיתִי וַחֲנָה:

1) v. 23. I saw . . . and behold:

a) below (אֶרֶץ): it is חָהַר וּבָהַר (= nature)

b) above (שָׁמַיִם): there is אֵין אֹר (= content)

2) v. 24. I saw . . . and behold:

the mountains, how they tremble (רָעַשׁ) and are shaken (= quality)

3) v. 25. I saw . . . and behold:

a) below (אֲדָמָה): it is אֵין (= nature)

¹See BDB, s.v. "חָהַר (2)."

b) above (שמים): there are birds, fled (= content)

4) v. 26. I saw . . . and behold:

the mount Carmel¹: a desert and its cities broken
before the wrath of God² (= quality)

The first observation to be made is that we have here two stanzas; the first one is characterized by starting with the pattern of expression which places the object between ראייתו and הנה; the second stanza is characterized by placing the object after the pattern of expression.

The second observation to be made is that the two stanzas are in parallelism: thus v. 23 has its correspondence in v. 25 while v. 24 has its correspondence in v. 26. This indicates at least two different levels of thought. Vv. 23 and 25 are concerned with a general situation, the language pointing to the creation pericope; while vv. 24 and 26 are concerned with a specific situation, mountains and hills, Carmel and its cities.³ Now the parallelism which connects v. 23 to v. 25 brings

¹Therefore the motif of desert (מדבר) of v. 26 has not to be considered as synonymous to the two previous expressions; it has the same function as in v. 24, the participle trembling (רעשים); it describes how it is (quality) and not what it is (nature) in connection with the specific mountains which are placed on another level than creation.

²On Carmel as a mountain, see 1 Kgs 18:19, 20; 2 Kgs 2:25; cf. Jer 46:18, etc.

³Notice here the echo to the רעש motif. Indeed the wrath of God has often for effect to produce the trembling רעשים of the elements (see Jer 10:10; Joel 2:10; Ps 46:4; Nah 1:5; Isa 13:13).

up חָהוּ וְכָהוּ as an equivalent to אֵין.¹ It is here interesting to notice that the expression חָהוּ וְכָהוּ is connected with the earth (אֶרֶץ), which recalls Gen 1:2 (C), while the word אֵין is connected with man (אָדָם), which recalls Gen 2:5 (C').

The word חָהוּ alone is also used with this connotation. The most striking passage which indeed refers to the creation pericopes is Isa 45:19.² It is interesting to notice that we find here the same association of the two levels of understanding the creation and the nothingness, as is suggested in the two Genesis creation pericopes.³ Thus in the first part of the verse, בָּרָא is used with regard to שָׁמַיִם, which points to C, while עָשָׂה and יָצַר are used with regard to אֶרֶץ which points to C'; and in the second part בָּרָא is used with regard to חָהוּ which points to C, while יָצַר is used with regard to שְׂכָנָה which implies

¹ Obviously the kind of nothingness (אֵין) which is implied in Jer 4 is not the same as the one which is perceived by the author of the creation pericope--after all Jeremiah starts after the creation event--but the fact that the prophet, placing the creation pericopes in the background of his discourse, connects אֵין to חָהוּ וְכָהוּ, justifies at least our own literary connection between C and C'.

² This passage is as relevant as it is a "direct" reference to the event of creation. The interpretation has then not to be adapted to a different content, as is demanded in the case of other passages which use the creation language with a slightly different connotation on account of the different world where they stand, namely, a world where the cosmic creation is already implied.

³ See supra, p. 62, n. 1.

the idea of inhabitants, i.e., existence of life, and this points to C'.

It is moreover noteworthy that the reference to C which uses the terms ברא and שמים opposes this creation on the level of the cosmos to תהו; creation is here what תהו is not, the לא תהו. In other words, תהו is what the created which is referred to in terms of ברא and of שמים is not.

The word תהו may also be used outside of the specific context of the creation pericope: yet the connotation of negativeness it will convey there, in account of the different contexts, would have to be related somehow to an existence, i.e., in the sense of meaninglessness, uselessness, etc.¹

Thus the word תהו is used parallel to איך and אפס in Isa 40:17, to בלימה (without anything) in Job 26:7, to רוח (wind) in Isa 41:29, to תכל (vanity) in Isa 49:4.² We notice that it does not have the idea of emptiness which is in itself a space concept; it points instead to non-existence, to vanity with an ethical connotation,³ 1 Sam

¹We must be careful, however, not to project this acquired connotation to the original one. The secondary sense must not determine the primary one.

²See Delitzsch, Pentateuch, 1:48 and Fields, p. 124; cf. Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 79; S. Schwertner, "איך Nichtsein," THAT 1:128; Claus Westermann, "רוח Geist," ibid., 2:731.

³Cf. Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 79, n. 1.

12:21; Isa 24:10; 29:21; 34:11.¹ Therefore the maker of idols is חָהַר (Isa 44:9), the חָהַר being used as a synonym of a lie (שוא, Isa 59:4).

We must add as a support to this observation that all the other words which accompany the expression חָהַר וְבָהָר in C, in order to suggest the "state" of the earth before creation, indeed convey the same connotation of negativeness.

Thus the word חָשֶׁךְ (darkness) is used as synonymous to הֶבֶל (vanity) in Eccl 6:4, and to שְׁאֵל which conveys the idea of death, i.e., non-existence in Job 17:13.² It is rather interesting that the חָשֶׁךְ concept may also occur in connection with the water element as for instance in the expression חֹשֶׁךְ מֵיִם, the darkness of waters (Ps 18:12) and may point thereby to the same connotation. Indeed, the waters may also convey the idea of negativeness whether they are referred to in terms of מֵיִם or of חֹהֶלֶם.

Thus חֹהֶלֶם happens to be contrasted to the created world, in association with the concept of darkness חָשֶׁךְ:³

¹Here it is clear that חָהַר and בָּהָר are not space elements expressing the emptiness since they qualify the line and the stones.

²See Westermann, Genesis, p. 145.

³On this verse Philippe Reymond comments: "Ce verset montre sans équivoque la différence essentielle qu'il y a entre le monde créé, où luit la lumière, et le monde incréé du חֹהֶלֶם. Celui-ci, situé hors des limites fixées par Dieu, reste ténèbres pures" (p. 185).

He hath compassed the waters (מים) wit' bounds,
until the day and night (חשך) come to an end.
(Job 26:10) ¹

חַהוּם may be used to suggest the threatening "reality" of death, i.e., the non-existence par excellence²:

Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea? or
hast thou walked in the search of the depth (חַהוּם)?
Have the gates of death been opened unto thee? or
hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?
(Job 38:16, 17).

Both words מים and חַהוּם are often put together to express the same idea of threat of death, of "non-world"³:

For thus saith the Lord God: When I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited; when I shall bring up the deep (חַהוּם) upon thee, and great waters (מים) shall cover thee; When I shall bring thee down with them that descend into the pit, with the people of old Time, and shall set thee in the low parts of the earth, in places desolate of

¹Cf. Prov 8:27 which brings up חַהוּם in association to the same pattern of expression:

Job 26:10, חַהוּם אֵל פְּנֵי מֵיִם

Prov 8:27, חַהוּם אֵל פְּנֵי חַהוּם

This shows that מים and חַהוּם are used with the same connotation.

²Cf. Ps 88:3-6 where the word חַהוּם is associated with the concept of death and darkness, חֹשֶׁךְ (v. 13).

³The expression is from Johannes Pedersen who speaks of the ocean and of waters as the "non-world," the world where God is absent (Israel, its Life and Culture, 4 vols. in 2 [London: H. Milford, 1926-40], 1-2:464). This particular understanding of the water element has been perfectly demonstrated by Raymond in his study on the concept of water in the Old Testament: "L'Ancien Testament parle volontiers de l'Océan comme de la mort elle-même . . . 'pays sans retour' . . . pays où l'on ne vit plus en communion ni avec les hommes ni avec Dieu et où l'on ne peut plus le louer" (p. 213). Cf. Earle Hilgert's comment on Rev 20:13 which interprets the association sea-death-Hades as an "intensification of the term sea rather than a contrast to it" (The Ship and Related Symbols in the New Testament [Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962], p. 49).

old, with them that go down to the pit, that thou be not inhabited; and I shall set glory in the land of the living; I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, thou wilt never be found again, says the Lord God.
(Ezek 26:19-21)¹

Death does not convey the idea of emptiness but does convey the idea of negativeness (non-existence). Therefore, it is not the concept of emptiness which lies behind the words but indeed the concept of negativeness. Thus the "state" of the earth before the divine creative act is expressed in C as a negative "state" not only by the means of the parallelism with C', but also by means of the words themselves which happen to be used with this particular connotation.

In other words, the fact that the Bible attests the sense of negativeness for those words would confirm the interpretation which has been drawn from the parallelism, namely, that the author was thinking in terms of negativeness in C' and in C as he wanted to suggest the "state" of the earth before the creation.²

¹Cf. Jonah 2:6; Hab 3:10.

²On the basis of biblical usage, Schmidt arrives at a similar conclusion: "Der Doppelausdruck ist ein Wortspiel, ähnlich dem deutschen 'Wirrwarr,' doch meint er weder ein 'Tohuwabohu' als heillos-wüstes Durcheinander noch ein 'ungeformt' oder 'ungestaltet', sondern einfach den Gegensatz zur geordneten Schöpfung" (Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 78). In footnotes he explains why 'ungestaltet' would not be an adequate translation: "Das würde besagen, dass die Erde in ihrem Stoff, der Materie, schon vorhanden war, ihr nur die gestaltende Form fehlte. Doch ist der Unterschied von Inhalt und Form dem Alten Testament unbekannt, vgl. Boman, HD 133ff., bes. 135" (ibid., p. 78, n. 3). A little further, he sets forth his

Indeed the words which are used in C to suggest this particular "state" may also be used in some biblical passages with a positive sense of existence.² But the fact that they come in a parallelism which brings out the idea of negativeness leads to the choice of the negative

position "'Wüst und öde' sind für diesen Zustand keine ausreichende Übersetzung; denn gemeint ist mehr als das Unbewohnbare: die totale Umkehrung des jetzt Bestehenden. Sie auszudrücken, benutzt man Bilder der Wüste und Einöde, die aber nicht als irgendwie positiv bestimmt, sondern als Gegensatz zur vorhandenen Ordnung gelten. Diese rein negative Sinngebung ist in Jes 34; Jer 4 ganz deutlich; kennzeichnend ist, dass es sich beide Male um Gerichtsreden handelt" (ibid., p. 79, n. continued from p. 78). Further the same author makes precise the meaning of "leer": "Die Übersetzung 'leer' passt gut, da sich in dem Wort das Nicht-Vorhandene und Räumlich-Bildhafte treffen. 'Wüst' und 'öde' verführen zu der Vorstellung, als sei es nur auf der Erde 'wüst und leer', während doch die Erde selbst gemeint ist" (ibid., p. 80, n. 1). Cf. Kurt Gallings's translation: "Existenz einer Nichtexistenz" ("Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Gen 1,2," ZTK 47-48 [1950]: 150). Cf. Westermann who assumes this meaning of "Nichtexistenz" yet in the more precise sense of "grauenhafte," "ominös" (Genesis, pp. 143, 144) which points however to the subjective understanding of the Israelite (see his reference to Ridderbos, ibid., p. 144). On the other hand, when he is concerned with the objective sense of וַחֲדָרָא he significantly refers to the words of Schmidt we just brought up, i.e., in the sense of the non-created "Gegenbegriff zur Schöpfung" (ibid., p. 143), and rejects thereby the sense of "Formlosigkeit" or "Gestaltlosigkeit" (ibid., p. 143).

²See Ps 148:2-4 (cf. Philippe Reymond, p. 175). We must also distinguish the waters which are mentioned in the introduction of C in association with וַחֲדָרָא, וַחֲדָרָא, וַחֲדָרָא and in parallelism with וַחֲדָרָא, וַחֲדָרָא, and וַחֲדָרָא in C', from the waters which will appear in the continuation of the pericope which are referred only as וַחֲדָרָא and וַחֲדָרָא and always in a context of positiveness: they are created. Moreover, these words וַחֲדָרָא and וַחֲדָרָא, when used alone, generally hold in the Bible a rather positive sense (for וַחֲדָרָא, see Philippe Reymond, pp. 1-8; for וַחֲדָרָא, see ibid., p. 174). וַחֲדָרָא might also be used in a positive sense (see Gen 7:11; 49:25). All is then a question of context.

fact that they come in a parallelism which brings out the idea of negativeness leads to the choice of the negative connotation and not of the positive one.

Thus in C, the idea of negativeness is expressed by reference to the concrete element of waters¹ and to the חַהֲרֵי וּבְהָרֵי, while in C' it is expressed through the obviously negative locutions אֵין, לֹא, טָרָם.

Conclusions

If a correspondence between C and C' shows itself in the introductions as well as in the bodies, it follows that we should study whether the conclusions manifest also stylistic correspondences.

The texts are as follows:

2:4a אֱלֹהֵי תוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהִבְרָאָם

2:25 וַיְהִי שְׁנֵיהֶם עֲרוֹמִים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְלֹא יִחְבֹּשׁוּ

The first words already point to some similarity
(וַיְהִי שְׁנֵיהֶם: these are the generations/אלה תולדות): these

¹Indeed Gerhard von Rad is right here as he notes "dass der Text an Dinge rühret, die in jedem Fall jenseits des menschlichen Vorstellungsvermögens liegen" (Das erste Buch Mose: Genesis, Das Alte Testament Deutsch, 17th ed., 3 vols. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964], 2:36). Not provided with a word which would designate the abstract concept of nothingness, the Hebrew author had to refer to the water element in order to suggest concretely this idea. Joseph Lanza del Vasto has well understood this fact as he notes: "Il est vrai qu'on ne trouve pas ici le mot néant, mais on trouve le néant derrière les mots. . . . Et voilà le néant, bien mieux dit que par le mot néant. Mieux dit, mieux que dit: montré. C'est comme tout ce qui est dit dans ce livre, c'est placé devant nous pour être touché du doigt, ressenti, pénétré, goûté, compris" (La montée des âmes vivantes: Commentaire de la Genèse [Paris: Denoël, 1968], p. 26).

two¹): both convey the idea of a demonstrative.²

Moreover, a careful reading may reveal an internal profound correlation pointing in fact to the same kind of conclusion on account of the respective material which they conclude:

1. Both are "objectification" of what has been created in their respective reports. Heaven and earth in C, and man and woman in C', are described as they are in their finished state and not as part in the process of creation, as is the case in the seventh section. This point is important, for it marks the distance between the seventh section and the conclusion. Indeed both sections are dealing with a related concern, i.e., the end of the creation story. Yet while the seventh section concludes as a final step of creation as a process, the conclusion brings us already "outside" of the "history" of creation, again on the level of the reporter: "These are the generations." We are no more involved in the event of

¹ Literally "the two of them" (cf. Speiser, Genesis, p. 21; BDB, s.v. "שְׁנֵי", [1]). The word "two" is determined by the pronominal suffix and must then be understood in the sense of a demonstrative as Rudolf D. Meyer understood it in his translation "sie beide" (Hebräische Grammatik, 3rd ed. [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966], p. 85; cf. Emil F. Kautzsch, ed., Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, 2d Eng. ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910; reprint ed., Oxford: University Press, 1970]: "they two" [p. 433, par. 134d] and the same form with the number three, as "you three" [p. 291, par. 97i]).

² See Meyer Lambert, Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque, 2d ed. rev. and enl. by G. E. Weil (Hildesheim: Verlag Dr. H. A. Gerstenberg, 1972), p. 218.

creation. "And these two were naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed" (v. 25). It is no more Adam who speaks (as in v. 23). We are brought again to the past of the record of creation, which is particularly brought out in the fact that it follows immediately after the prophecy of Adam regarding the future destiny of the human couple (v. 24).

2. Both refer to a motif of two as one, heaven and earth in C, and husband and wife in C'. It is noteworthy that while in C the concept "heaven and earth" points to creation as a united whole, in C' the concept "man and woman" points to mankind as a united whole.¹ Are these concepts not the basic subject matter which are treated respectively by C and C'?

3. Finally, both suggest the idea of a "perfect" creation, i.e., not yet spoiled by the evil.

C points to creation which just records the process, as a witness of creation exempted of any stain or anything negative.

C' points to the creation of man which just records the process as a witness of creation not yet involved in the sin. The language is here significant. The play on words between ערום (naked) and the ערום (subtle) of the snake² which comes in the next verse

¹We have found the same association in the seventh section, cf. supra p. 46.

²On this "intentional double meaning" of ערום,

betrays the concern of the author to specify that the tragedy which will later associate the snake and human beings has not yet occurred.¹ In the same way we have to understand the allusion to shame, the feeling of which had not yet been known by the human being.

These two hints toward what will be recorded immediately after (Gen 3) produce the effect of casting into relief the "not yet" and point thereby to the perfected state of creation as it came from the hand of YHWH Elohim.

The two conclusions have the same function in the way they close their respective texts. They are, therefore, in essence, relating C and C' to each other.²

see Yosef Roth, "השימוש בדיבור הדו־משמעי המכוון בסיפורי המקראי" [The Intentional Double-Meaning Talk in Biblical Prose], *Tarbiz* 41 [1971-72]:245-54.

¹Walsh interprets v. 25 as a "prolepsis pointing forward to 3:7" (p. 164). Alonso-Schökel noticed on his part a prolepsis to the next chapter in v. 24: "Esta descripción del amor futuro, a dos versos de la aparición de la serpiente, adquiere resonancia de presentimiento: el varón podrá abandonar para adherirse e identificarse; Adán, que no tiene padres, podrá abandonar a su Creador por seguir a su mujer" ("Motivos Sapienciales y de Alianza en Gen 2-3," *Bib* 43 [1962]:307); a "key to what follows" he specifies in the English adaptation ("Sapiential and Covenant Themes in Genesis 2-3," p. 475). Walsh refers to the earlier observation of Alonso-Schökel as a support and concludes that "there is a frequent occurrence of prolepsis in the Eden account" (p. 164).

²The parallelism between C and C' would then support the view that Gen 2:25 belongs to chap. 2 as MT transmitted it to us, and not to chap. 3 as some scholars have begun to think (see Speiser, *Genesis*, p. 21; cf. Westermann, *Creation*, pp. 26, 27, and Jewish Publication Society of America, Committee for the Translation of the Torah, *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah*, ed.

Conclusion

The correspondences which have been noticed between C and C' seem to reflect definite rules. They are regular within each record and are controlled through an interrelation obeying to a literary "principle of distribution"¹ which is itself submitted to the rule of the parallelism. We may, therefore, infer from these observations that the literary harmonization has mostly been brought up as a conscious, intentional and voluntary act, for such an amount of literary coincidences is hardly haphazard. Moreover, we have noticed along the way how much the stylistic figure had indeed expressed the signified of the texts in their respective uniqueness as well as in their connection with each other.

Thus the evident literary structure which has been drawn seems to be the genuine one, not only because it agrees with what the signified tells us in C as well as C' and in their mutual connection, but also because it is supported by the fact that we find the same pattern in C'. The confrontation of C and C' has then allowed us to perceive the literary structure of the creation pericopes.

Yet this conclusion still calls for support from

Harry M. Orlinsky [Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1969], p. 62). As for the play on the word עָרַם, instead of assigning the verse to chap. 3, it would rather be used to point out the conclusive aspect of the discourse: it was perfect, there is nothing to add.

¹Cf. supra p. 16.

outside of these pericopes. It will be then essential to investigate within the biblical stream of tradition, which is "interpreting" the creation story, to what extent this literary structure of C and the nature of this connection between C and C' has been reflected.

SYNTHETIC TABLE: Stylistic Correspondences Between C and C'

C

Introduction (chap. 1 vv. 1-2)

In the beginning of the creating by Elohim
 --as the earth was without form and void,
 and darkness was upon the surface of the deep waters,
 and the Spirit of God was moving upon the surface of the waters--

1. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, 1x (vv. 3-5)
 creation of light/darkness
2. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, 1x (vv. 6-8)
 creation of firmament in heaven
3. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, 2x (vv. 9-13)
 waters and land delimited
 appearance of plants
4. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, 1x (vv. 14-19)
 creation of luminaries and stars in heaven to separate light from
 darkness and to indicate seasons, days and years:
 perspective of time
5. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, 1x (vv. 20-23)
first creation of animal life (birds and fish)
6. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים, 3x (vv. 24-31)
 creation of animals (continued) in the concern to relate to man
 image of God:
 dominion of man over animals (including birds)
 man created male and female
 relationship between man and animals (plants as food)
7. וַיְכַלֵּל הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ, 0x (chap. 2, vv. 1-3)
 (repetitive
 pattern)
 (a) end of the process of the creation in its totality
 (ab) God involved in this last phase
 (b) theme of separation: the Sabbath comes out of a separation
 from all (סָכַל) the work which He has done
 (b) blessing of the Sabbath, holiness of the Sabbath

Conclusion (v. 4a)

These are the generations of the heavens and the earth in the process
 of their creation
 (objectified creation
 motif of couple
 perfection of creation)

SYNTHETIC TABLE--Continued

C'

Introduction (chap. 2, vv. 4b-6)

In the day of the making by YHWH Elohim of earth and heaven
 --as no plant of the field was yet in the earth,
 and no herb of the field had yet sprung up (for . . .),
 and a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole surface of
 the ground--

1. וייצר יהוה אלהים, 1x (v. 7)
 formation of man // dust from the ground
2. ויטע יהוה אלהים, 1x (v. 8)
 planting a garden for man on earth (concretely localized in east)
3. ויצמח יהוה אלהים, 2x (vv. 9-15)
 appearance of plants
 waters and land delimited
dominion of man over the earth
4. ויצו יהוה אלהים, 1x (vv. 16-17)
 commandment to man to separate: the tree of the knowledge of good
 and evil among the other trees in the garden:
 perspective of death
5. ויאמר יהוה אלהים, 1x (v. 18)
first concern for a companion for man
6. ויצר יהוה אלהים, 3x (vv. 19-22)
 concern for a companion for man (continued): animals (including birds)
 are formed in the concern to be related to man
 image of God (implicitly: God brings animals to man)
dominion of man over animals
 relationship between man and animals
 man created male and female
7. ויאמר האדם, 0x (vv. 23-24)
 (repetitive pattern)
 (x) end of the process of the creation of man in its totality
 (xy) God involved in this last phase
 (y) theme of separation: the formation of the couple comes out of
 a separation from the father and mother
 (y) man joins his wife, unity of the couple

Conclusion (v. 25)

And these two were naked the man and his wife and were not ashamed
 (objectified creation
 motif of couple
 perfection of creation)

CHAPTER II

THE BIBLICAL STREAM OF TRADITION

Introduction

The literary structure of C has been recognized from the text itself in relationship to C'. It will be now interesting to know to what extent it has also been attested in biblical texts which refer to creation. Thus our investigation will be confined to finding "reflections" of that literary structure in such texts, so that we may ascertain the existence of a tradition which would give witness to this particular literary structure.

It is, therefore, unnecessary to investigate every biblical text concerned with the idea of creation. Such a study would belong to a more general investigation treating the biblical theology of creation. The limiting of our investigation to the literary structure of the creation pericope C makes it mandatory to deal with selected materials relating to the literary structure itself. Our choice has been made on the basis of two criteria: (1) Biblical texts which are generally recognized to refer to creation¹ and (2) biblical texts which reflect the

¹Peter J. Kearney has recently argued ("Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Exod 25-40," ZAW 89 [1977]:375-87) for an affinity of structure between C and

Exod 25-31, the account of the building of the sanctuary. Kearny bases his demonstration essentially upon the observation that his pericope, which closes with a reference to the Sabbath, is also divided in seven parts each one of which is introduced by the same pattern of expression and alludes to the corresponding day of creation in Gen 1-2:3. Yet some major inconsistencies in Kearney's proposal have restrained us from taking these passages into consideration:

1. The introductory expression is different in the fifth and seventh speeches from the five others; in the fifth . . . ויאמר יהוה אל משה and in the seventh . . . וידבר יהוה אל משה instead of ויאמר יהוה אל משה which introduces the other five speeches.

2. On the other hand, the use of the latter expression goes beyond the limits of our pericope and articulates in fact the whole book of Exodus.

3. The reference to the Sabbath in Exod 31 does not really conclude the building of the sanctuary, which is said to be finished only in chap. 40:33. At any rate, the motif of the Sabbath recurs in Exod 35, and there it introduces the continuation of the building of the sanctuary, the record of which has been interrupted by the episode of the golden calf immediately followed by the necessity of a new covenant (Exod 32-34).

4. The correspondence between each speech and each day of the creation, as Kearney points out, are highly disputable: the first speech (Exod 25:1-31:10), referring to the candelabra, is associated with the light of the first day; the second speech (Exod 30:11-16), referring to the division between rich and poor, is associated with the division between waters below and above; the third speech (Exod 30:17-21), referring to the bronze laver through 1 Kgs 7:23; הים, is associated with the sun of the fourth day; the fifth speech (Exod 30:34-38), referring to the substance of sacred incense made of שחלת from marine mollusks, is associated with the fish of the fifth day; the sixth speech (Exod 31:1-11), referring to the supervisors of the tent, is associated with the creation of man of the sixth day; the seventh speech (Exod 31:12-17), referring to the Sabbath, is associated with the Sabbath.

Out of the six, two are indirect associations (the third and fourth), two are forced (the second and the sixth); see *ibid.*, pp. 375-78.

5. The echoes in terms of vocabulary or of expressions are not significant since they do not bring characteristic patterns to the creation pericope. With regard to the last point, in fact the strongest echo in Exodus which brings in characteristic expressions of the creation pericope is found in Exod 40:33; it marks the termination of the building of the sanctuary and uses the same expression as for the Sabbath in the creation peri-

the literary structure of C as it came out in its relationship to C'.

Indeed not all the texts have the same importance. Some appear to encompass the whole creation pericope (Ps 104; Job 37-42); others seem to point only to particular aspects of its composition (Ps 8; 33; 139; 148); and finally some refer to the creation pericope only in an indirect way (Prov 8; Jer 26:1; 27:1; 28:1; 49:34).

References to the Creation Pericopes as a Whole

Psalm 104

A careful study of the literary structure of Ps 104 reveals common motifs with the Genesis creation pericope¹ which are distributed and clearly separated² according to the same order and number.³ The thematic

cope (cf. infra p. 159, n. 2). This last observation puts seriously into question the structure of Kearney.

¹For a bibliography of comparative studies between Ps 104 and Gen 1 see especially A. Van der Voort, "Genèse 1:1 à 2:4a et le Psaume 104," *RB* 58 [1958]:321, and Hans-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, BKAT 15, 2d ed. 2 vols. [Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961], 2:706.

²Kraus points out: "Man sieht nun sehr deutlich, wie straff der Psalm gegliedert ist. Ein thematisch genau bestimmtes Stück folgt dem anderen" (*ibid.*, 2:721).

³It might be possible, however, that the author of Ps 104, while respecting the sequence of the Genesis creation pericope, has put its material into a new mold (see Kemper Fullerton, "The Feeling for Form in Psalm 104," *JBL* 40 [1921]:43-56). The only restriction we would have with regard to this proposal is that it draws the seven-sections pattern, disregarding the delimitations by day brought out in the Genesis creation pericope. And since the number seven is within a creation concern associated

arrangement is likewise essentially the same¹:

Day One: Motif of light (Ps 104:2a)

Day Two: Creation of firmament, reference to waters
above (Ps 104:2b-4)

Day Three: Appearance of the ground: formation of the
earth plants (Ps 104:5-18)

Day Four: Luminaries to indicate seasons and time
(Ps 104:19-23)

Day Five: First mention of animals in terms of crea-

with the number of days, we would have difficulties in following Fullerton on this point. Moreover, his arrangement of the six stanzas into ten stichs each is not convincing, for the delimitations are not consistent with regard to the content: thus it happens that distinct motifs are treated in the same stanza (see light and sky in the first stanza, p. 51), while the same motifs are treated in two distinct stanzas (see plant-life in the third and fourth section, pp. 52, 53).

¹For Hermann Gunkel, the psalmist has before him the narrative material of Gen 1 (Die Psalmen, 5th ed. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968], p. 453); for Jean Calès, Ps 104 follows roughly Gen 1 but freely (Le livre des Psaumes, 6th ed., 2 vols. [Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1936], 2:270; cf. Friedrich Nötscher, Die Psalmen, Echter Bibel [Würzburg: Echter, 1953], p. 206); Édouard P. Dhorme notices explicitly: "L'ordre suivi est celui de la Création selon Gen 1" ("Notes to Ps 104:2," in La Bible: L'Ancien Testament, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 2 vols. [Paris: Gallimard, 1956-59], 2:1124). Cf. Derek Kidner: "The structure of the psalm is modelled fairly closely on that of Genesis I, taking the stages of Creation as starting points for praise" (Psalms 73-150: A Commentary on Books III-V of the Psalms, The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries [London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1975], p. 368; cf. also Paul Humbert, Opuscules d'un hébraïsant [Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1958], p. 77).

tures¹; allusion to birds²; sea and living beings in it (Ps 104:24-26)

Day Six: Food for animals and man; gift of life by God for animals and man³ (Ps 104:27-30)

Day Seven: Glory of God⁴; allusion to the revelation on Sinai⁵ (Ps 104:31-32)

But there is not only a thematic correspondence; each section of Ps 104 shares also significant common

¹Up to now the animals are mentioned merely in connection with the creation of the earth (as inhabitants) and the creation of the luminaries (as their indications of daily life); only from day five on, are the animals concerned as created.

²The word קַיִן which means properties, riches, echoes the word יִקְנֶנּוּ of v. 17 (to make the nest) and may therefore, by means of the alliteration, refer to the idea the former word conveys. This is a common practice in Hebrew poetry.

³Man is implied here in the reference back to the ships of v. 26.

⁴The concept of מַלְכוּת belongs especially in the Psalms to the imagery of God as king of the earth, i.e., its Creator (see Ps 145:11; 19:2; 29:2, 3, etc.). On the other hand, this concept is clearly associated with the theophany on Sinai (see Exod 24:16, 17).

⁵See Exod 19:18. The Israelites did not know volcanoes (see Calès, p. 270). This reference to Sinai in direct association with the very concern of creation points to the Sabbath. Some authors have seen the correspondence with the Sabbath in vv. 33-35 within the mention of the joy and praise (see Calès, p. 270; Beauchamp, *Création et Séparation*, p. 139; cf. also Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, p. 453). Yet it escapes them that this element, occurring also in the introduction of the poem (v. 1), may rather be interpreted as belonging to the final conclusion according to the common usage in Hebrew poetry to take over motifs of the introduction and which is attested in C (cf. infra pp. 92 and 102).

wording with its corresponding part in C.¹ Thus,

Day One: אור (Gen 1:3, 4, 5; Ps 104:2a)

Day Two: שמים (Gen 1:8; Ps 104:2b)

מים (Gen 1:6; Ps 104:4)

Day Three: ארץ (Gen 1:10; Ps 104:5)

עשב (Gen 1:11; Ps 104:14)

עץ (Gen 1:11; Ps 104:15)

Day Four: חשך (Gen 1:18; Ps 104:19)

שמש (Ps 104:19) and ירח (Ps 104:19) are

equivalent to מאורות (Gen 1:14, 15, 16)

Day Five: רמש (Gen 1:21; Ps 104:25)

ים (Gen 1:22; Ps 104:25)

חיה (Gen 1:21; Ps 104:25)

לויחך (Gen 1:21²; Ps 104:26)

Day Six: ברא (Gen 1:27; Ps 104:30)

נחך (Gen 1:29; Ps 104:28)

אכל (Gen 1:29; Ps 104:27)

Day Seven: ארץ (Gen 2:1; Ps 104:32)

מעשיו (Gen 2:3³; Ps 104:31)

¹The common wording is also significant beyond this limit; see for instance the rare expression חִיחֹן (v. 11a) which occurs also in Gen 1:24. The value of the association is somehow weakened by the use of the words in other Psalms (see Ps 50:10; 79:2). According to Albright, this shows at least a reference "point to an archaic poetic original" ("The Refrain," p. 24).

²C has חֲנִיךְ; see Ps 74:12-14 where חֲנִיךְ is used in parallelism with לִוְיָחֶךְ (see Marvin H. Pope, Job, AB [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973], p. 277).

³C has the verb עָשָׂה three times but uses the word מְלַאכְתּוֹ (vv. 2 and 3) which echoes מְעַשִּׂיו by its morphology.

The introduction and the conclusion function in Ps 104 in the same way as in C; they bring the reader out of the action described in the body of the text, again on the "subjective" level of the narrator. Moreover, here as there the conclusion repeats the basic themes of the introduction¹:

Introduction:

Bless the Lord, O my soul. O Lord my God (v. 1)
 // In the beginning of the creation of heaven and earth

Conclusion:

I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live, I will sing praise to my God while I have my being. My meditation of him shall be sweet, I will be glad in the Lord. . . . Bless the Lord, O my soul (vv. 33-35)
 // These are the generations of heaven and earth in the process of their creation.

A careful observation of Ps 104 reveals also that the creation mentioned is not confined to C but points also to C'. It is significant here that the presence of C' begins to make itself felt from the third part on, i.e., from the time the poem is concerned with man.² Thus we find the following common motifs according to the same order:

¹Cf. Mitchell J. Dahood's comment: "Bless Yahweh, O my soul! Though enclosing the poem by way of an inclusion with v. 35, this phrase stands apart from the body of the poem" (Psalms, AB, 3 vols. [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970], 3:33).

²This essential divergence from C which points to C' has escaped Van der Voort, who argued for a dependence of Gen 1 upon the Psalm and not the contrary (see "Genèse 1:1 à 2:4a et le Psaume 104," p. 342).

Day Three: Concern for the ground with the same word

יָרָא (Gen 2:11; Ps 104:9, 13, 14)

Mention of the germination with the same word

נָמַץ which is not found in C (Gen 2:9; Ps 104:14)

Allusion to the work of man using the same word

עָבַד (Gen 2:15; Ps 104:14)

Planting of the trees with the same word יָצַע (Gen 2:9; Ps 104:14)

Day Four: Idea of discernment of the light (day) and

darkness in connection with man and animals. In

connection with man we may even perceive the

shadow of a threat of death in v. 23 as it is in C'.²

¹Cf. v. 14. Undoubtedly the context of this verse points to the agricultural work of man (which is the same concern as in C' [2:15]).

²Indeed the darkness is first brought up as being the time of the going out of lions and creeping animals until the sunrise; and in connection with this, man is referred to as going out until the evening. The association is therefore particularly suggestive, as it has been noticed by Beauchamp: "C'est la fonction probable du v. 18, où le thème des habitats sert aussi à préparer la répartition des heures de sortie entre vivants de la terre. C'est certain pour tout le v. 23" (Création et Séparation, p. 133). This opposition between the daytime of man and the nighttime of creeping animals and lions is also found in the "Hymn to the Aton" (ANET, p. 370) which moreover carries with it an obvious connotation of threat of death. Cf. Georges Nagel, "A propos des rapports du Psaume 104 avec les textes égyptiens," in Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen und Freunden, ed. Walter Baumgartner, Otto Eissfeldt, Karl Elliger, and Leonhard Rost [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950], pp. 395-403; David J. Frame, "Creation by the Word" (Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1969), p. 176. Instead of seeing here a mere indication of the influence from the Egyptian hymn, would it be too daring

(cf. Gen 2:17). Noteworthy is also the fact that this threat is somehow related to the concept of eating; the common word is אכל (Gen 2:16, 17; Ps 104:21)

Day Five: First mention of animals as creatures of God (same word used עושה) (Gen 2:18; Ps 104:24). Moreover, these creatures are created in connection with man (see v. 26)

Day Six: The presence of C' is here suggested through the motif of the earth in connection with the destiny of the creatures (man and animals). In C' animals are created from the earth, אדמה (Gen 2:19; Ps 104:30); in Ps 104 animals will return to the dust, עפר (v. 29) as soon as God withdraws their breath. In C' the expression echoes significantly the one which is used for man, עפר מן האדמה (2:7) in connection with the breath-of-God motif. It recurs again as an echo in this section, i.e., Ps 104:29, 30.

Day Seven: Here the presence of C' is not evident.

As for the introduction and the conclusion, it is interesting to notice that they are the only places of the Psalm which associate YHWH and Elohim.¹ The fact that

to infer from this the fact that the "Hymn to Aton" contains instead tokens of a tradition which conveys the same association, supporting thereby the connection between C and C' at least on this point?

¹ Elsewhere the Psalm uses only the Tetragrammaton.

nowhere else in the Psalm YHWH is associated with Elohim is significant and appears to be intentional. Is it that the author wanted to suggest the principle of a connection between two "distinctive" names of God as the two creation pericopes in Genesis bring out?¹

Job 38-42

The first response of God to the last shout of Job² is "naturally" delimited; it starts in Job 38:1 and ends in 42:7.³ Here we find also a thematic arrangement which recalls the Genesis creation pericope.⁴ Again a pattern in seven steps seems to present itself:

¹The essential difference between the two names Elohim and YHWH Elohim lies in the name YHWH so that the distinctiveness between them might be put in terms of YHWH-Elohim.

²See 3:40.

³Beauchamp's proposal to start from the discourse of Elihu is hardly justified (see Création et Séparation, p. 142), for the latter passage belongs to another unit, at least with regard to the speaker (speech of Elihu/speech of God). Moreover the delimitation between the preceding verses and the beginning of the alleged reference to the creation pericope is not defined since it belongs to the same order of thought. The wind is here in connection with the sun (vv. 21, 22) which belongs to the imagery of heaven which has already been referred to in v. 18.

⁴Indeed most of the commentators have noticed some reference to the creation pericope in our passage (see Samuel R. Driver and George B. Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job, ICC [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1958], p. 327; cf. Robert Gordis, The Book of God and Man: A Study of Job [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966], p. 301) but nothing with regard to the literary structure of the Genesis creation has to our knowledge been pointed out, apart from the tentativeness of Beauchamp.

Day One: Dialectic darkness-light¹; common word with
C חָשָׁךְ (Job 38:2-3)

Day Two: Basis of the earth; delimitations of the
earth with regard to heaven² (Job 38:4-7)

Day Three: Delimitation of waters with regard to the
earth (Job 38:8-11)

Day Four: Dominion of light over darkness--connotation
of time (Job 38:12)

Distinction between light and darkness, חָשָׁךְ, אֵר,
(Job 38:19)

The mystery of the light (Job 38:24)

Creation of the stars (Job 38:31-32)

Rule of heaven on the earth (Job 38:33-38)

Day Five: Theme of animals (Job 38:39-39:30). But the
passage is mostly concerned with birds (see vv.
38:41; 39:13-18, 26-30). The animals are here
depicted as separated from man and dependent
only on God.

Day Six: Man in relation to God (Job 40:1-5)

¹The motif of light might be perceived behind the
motifs of counsel of God, knowledge and the question
raised for information. For a spiritual connotation of
the light in the same context, see 38:15. We may bear in
mind that the concern is here first of all theological
and poetical, and the reference to the creation is of a
spiritual order--which is not the case for the light in
the creation pericope, which is cosmic and not mystic as
argued by some scholars (see Herbert G. May, "The Creation
of Light in Gen 1:3-5," JBL 58 [1939]:203-11).

²The reference to the morning stars is here sig-
nificant.

Man compared with God (Job 40:6-14, especially vv. 9-10)--cf. the Imago Dei motif in C.

Animals are here presented in connection with man (cf. especially Job 40:15)

Theme of dominion of animals by man (Job 40:24; 40:33-34; 41:1-10a)

Idea of a relationship with the animals (Job 41:4)

Day Seven: Response of Job:

Confession of faith in the creative power of God (Job 42:1-3)

Closeness of relationship and repentance (Job 42:5, 6)

We may also discern some hints to the creation recorded in C'. Thus the fourth step points to the rule of heaven over the earth not only in terms of cosmic influence but also in terms of divine intervention in the "human" discernment or wisdom.¹ This idea is indeed very close to that which is expressed in the fourth section of C', namely, the divine injunction to man to discern among the trees.

The seventh section points here also to the idea of a close relationship following a process of failure and as a result of it. Before this experience the relationship between Job and God is referred to in terms of

¹See Job 38:36. Although the two words בִּמְחִיָּה and שִׁכְלִי are obscure (for a discussion see Pope, p. 302) the concepts of חִכְמָה (wisdom) and בִּינָה (discernment) are clear and belong to the human order.

hearing; but this time it is expressed in terms of seeing. The same awareness of a shift occurs in C' as Adam says regarding his companion: "this time . . ."

Lastly, the conclusion (Job 42:7) begins with the word וַיִּהְיֶה which might echo the וַיִּהְיֶה of C'.

The author of Job who is concerned with the idea of creation refers undoubtedly to a tradition which is identical to what is found in C and in C'.¹

The introduction and the conclusion echo in a significant way the creation pericope C. The motif of the wind (רוּחַ) of Gen 1:2 recurs also in the introduction

¹It has been argued that this similarity passes by a contact with Ps 104 and is dependent on it (see Van der Voort, pp. 332-34). However, the fact that a certain number of common points with C and C' are not found in Ps 104 does not support such an inference. Thus in the first section the word חֶשֶׁן is in C but is absent in Ps 104, which has however the word אֶרֶץ.

In the fourth section the word אֶרֶץ is in C but is absent in Ps 104, which has however the word חֶשֶׁן; the motif of stars occurs also here in C, whereas it is absent in the Psalm.

In the sixth section the motif of the human dominion over animals is in C but is absent in the Psalm; the same is true for the motif of man in the image of God.

The conclusion of Job conveys also a pattern of an expression which is in C but which is absent in the Psalm.

Finally, the motif of the "Word" (דָּבָר) which frames the passage of Job points undoubtedly directly to C since it is absolutely absent from the Psalm.

We may also notice two points of contact with C' which do not occur in the Psalm. Thus in the fourth section the divine intervention in human discernment, while Ps 104 has brought up the threat of death; and in the seventh section of Job the idea of relationship echoes C' but is absent in the Psalm.

As a matter of fact, Van der Voort's assumption is based on his late dating of the passage of Job.

of the passage in Job (here tempest,¹ טַעֲרָה), 38:1.² The conclusion uses the similar pattern of expression הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה. The record of the creation is referred to in this way as something already behind in an objective way.

Moreover, here also the conclusion repeats the main motif of the introduction: God speaks to Job. It is interesting to notice then that the reference to the creation record C is in Job framed by the utterance of the word of God here also emerging in a וַיֹּאמֶר.

Partial References to the Creation Pericopes

Psalm 8

This Psalm is not significant with regard to its literary connection with C.³ Yet the parallelism between man and heaven which is placed in the center of a thought about divine creation (cf. vv. 2b and 3; 4 and 5) is striking and may justify the correspondence man-and-heaven

¹See Edouard P. Dhorme, A Commentary on the Book of Job (London: Nelson, 1967), p. 57.

²This identification לַיְלָה-טַעֲרָה, pointing to the Genesis creation, connects this word to the whole unit of Job dealing with the creation, and would hardly support Naphtali H. Tur-Sinai's thesis according to which this part of the speech belongs in fact to an exterior, more extensive narrative "in which the revelation of the deity in the storm was treated in greater detail" (The Book of Job: A New Commentary, rev. ed. [Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1967], p. 521). The place of טַעֲרָה is legitimate here on account of the literary structure which is reflected in this passage.

³Gunkel, Emmanuel Podechard, and Kraus think that Gen 1 and this Psalm draw from the same tradition whereas Bernhard Duhm sees the Psalm as depending on Gen 1 (see

within the concern of reference to the twofold creation revealed upon the basis of the juxtaposition of C and C'.¹ In other words, the divine concentration on the human creature is placed in contrast to the divine creation of heaven.² We have here undoubtedly an allusion to the two Genesis pericopes of creation. C describes the Creator of the universe; C' shows God as particularly interested in man, i.e., Adam.³

Moreover, the reference to C' rather than to C

Gunkel, Die Psalmen, p. 29; Podechard, Le Psautier: Traduction littérale et explication historique, Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon 3, 6, 2 vols. [Lyon: Facultés Catholiques, 1949-54], 1:46; Kraus, Psalmen 1:67; Bernhard Duhm, Die Psalmen, Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1899], p. 29).

¹For Beauchamp, this paradoxical parallel indicates rather the independency of the tradition hence the "fortement réflexif" character of the Psalm (Création et Séparation, p. 359). Significantly Gerhard von Rad relates this Psalm to the P tradition ("Some Aspects of the Old Testament World-View," in The Problems of the Hexateuch and Other Essays [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966], p. 142).

²It is significant that here we do not find the classical scheme of a threefold sequence: heaven, water, earth (cf. Ps 148; Jonah 1:9; Ps 33, etc.), as if one had given up the element water to cast into relief the contrast heaven-earth (man).

³These verses point undoubtedly to the state of man before the fall as he was still "a little lower than the angels" (or "lacking a little of God," see BDB, s.v. "כָּבוֹד" [3]), "with glory and honor . . . crowned" and having dominion over the animals (vv. 5-8), and therefore the verses refer to the creation pericopes of Genesis. We understand then why Heb 2:6-8 applies these verses to Jesus indicating in the background a specific reference to the still stainless Adam, as a prefiguration of the last Adam; cf. 1 Cor 15:45 (cf. Herbert C. Leupold, Exposition of the Psalms [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book

comes out in the way the creation is there conceived. No stress is on the creative word; instead it is concerned with the "making" (עשה) of the world (מעשה אצבעותיך, [v. 4], work of thy fingers) and of the animals (מעשה ידיך), v. 7. We know that this notion is one of the most characteristic of C' which tells about the making "עשה" of the earth and the heavens by YHWH (v. 4), whereas C tells about it with "ברא".¹

Noteworthy is also the fact that this עשה has its extensions in the three uses of יצר² (to form) which in a characteristic way suggests the same picture of the God-potter we perceive through the particular expressions of the Psalm. Indeed the technical expression "מעשה ידך" is significantly often used within the imagery of the pottery and in association with יצר (Lam 4:2; Isa 64:7). Moreover, the reference in Ps 8 to the fingers is here particularly suggestive. We shall also notice that the expression "the work of thy fingers" is never found elsewhere--it is not the case for the expression "work of thy hands"

House, 1969], pp. 101, 104).

¹So J. Vollmer: "‘šh beschreibt Jahwes Schöpfungshandeln in allen seinen Dimensionen" (עשה, "THAT 2:367). On the other hand ברא belongs specifically to the Gen 1 creation; cf. Werner H. Schmidt: "Die jahwistische Schöpfungsgeschichte (Gen 2:4b ff.) kennt das Verbum nicht" ("ברא," *ibid.*, 1:337; cf. Werner Foerster, "אָרִיזֶו," *TWNT* 3:1007).

²Vv. 7, 8, 19. Cf. Foerster: "עשה ist zweifellos von J im Sinn von יצר gebraucht, es bezeichnet da also ein Machen aus einem vorhandenen Stoff" (*ibid.*).

which is used about twenty times.¹ And this phenomenon is significant with regard to the emphasis of the author.

We may also wonder whether the word אָנוּשׁ is not recalling the first use of אִישׁ (Gen 2:23) within this particular concern of man in "dependence"² of someone.

It is also noteworthy that the introduction and the conclusion echo each other beyond the body of the poem, both referring to the same human "Cosmos" = כָּל הָאָרֶץ³ in its totality, thereby revealing the same concern as in C.

Psalm 33

The obvious reference to C is found in Ps 33:6-7 where we have the classical sequence heaven-water-earth in the same order as in C. It is, moreover, interesting that this reference to the creation is introduced and concluded by the same mention of the creative word of God:

"By the word of the Lord were the heavens made"

(v. 6)

¹This expression is used seven times to designate God's works, including once the heavens (Ps 102:26), and twelve times for the idols which are man's works (cf. 2 Chr 32:19). Then the reproach against idolatry stands in great relief against the background that man himself is God's work (Job 34:19; Lam 4:2; Isa 64:7).

²See Doukhan, "L'Hébreu en Vie," pp. 234-35. Kraus points out the difference between אָנוּשׁ and בֶּן אָדָם with the connotation of particular and of weakness, and אָדָם with the universal connotation (see Psalmen 1:69, 70).

³Cf. Hermann Sasse, "κόσμος," TWNT 3:880.

"For he spake (אמר) and it was done (ויהי)"¹ (v. 9).

C is thus interpreted by the Psalmist in connection with the notion of the word of God. Indeed all the creative works of God are related to the word of God. Thus this exegesis comes as a support of what we noticed in our study of the literary structure of C, namely, the connection of אמר to each creative work of God.

It is also noteworthy that in the extension of this theology of creation which implies undoubtedly the presence of C, the Psalmist places a reflection on the coming down of God who "looks down from heaven and sees all the sons of men" (v. 12); "he who fashions (יצר) the hearts of them all, and observes all their deeds" (v. 15). This closeness of God and man and the motif of יצר are characteristic of C' in contrast to C; then we cannot but infer the existence of a tradition which certainly connected the two records of the creation.²

Psalm 139

The interest of this Psalm lies in the way it refers to the particular connection between C and C'. This comes out as we consider the structure of the Psalm itself which contains four stanzas:

¹These two Hebrew words are characteristic of C.

²Noteworthy is also the fact that C starts by a reference to the word of God (אמר) as C' starts by a reference to this very concept of יצר. It is, therefore, significant that the author of Ps 33 uses the motif of the word of God as he deals with a theology of creation specific to C, while he takes over the motif of יצר as he is

Stanza One (vv. 1-6)

God actually penetrates the secret motivations
(God is close)

Theme of searching and knowing by God directly
associated, חקרה וחדע (v. 1)

God discerns the intimate thought (v. 2)

Motif of way, דרך (v. 3)

God knows the before and after of thought (vv. 4-6)

Two times name of God: יהוה (vv. 1, 4)

Stanza Two (vv. 7-12)

Relationship to C: Presence of God in the Cosmos

Motif of spirit, רוח (v. 7; Gen 1:2)

Motif of heaven, שמים (v. 8a; Gen 1:8)

Motif of abyss, שאול¹ (v. 8b; Gen 1:2)

Motif of sea, ים (v. 9; Gen 1:10)

Motif of darkness, חשך (v. 11; Gen 1:2)

Motif of light, אור (v. 11b; Gen 1:3)

Motif of day and night, לילה, יום (v. 12; Gen 1:5)

No name of God.

Stanza Three (vv. 13-18)

Relationship to C': Presence of God in the intimacy
of man

Motif of formation of man (vv. 14-16) described:

- in terms of עשה (מעשיו, v. 14; Gen 2:4; עשיתי,
v. 15; Gen 2:4)

concerned with a theology of creation specific to C'.

¹The word שאול conveys the same connotations of
abyss and death as in חהום; cf. supra, p. 68.

- in terms of יצר (to form, v. 16; Gen 2:7, 8, 19)

Motif of earthly origin, ארץ¹ (v. 15; Gen 2:5 12, etc.)

Motif of soul, נפש (v. 14; Gen 2:7)

Motif of bones, עצם (v. 15; Gen 2:23)

Motif of sleep, הקיצוץ (v. 18; Gen 2:21)

אל used once (v. 17)

Stanza Four (vv. 19-24)

God called to penetrate the secret motivations
(God is still far)

Wicked described as somebody who invokes God (v. 19)

Speaks of God in vain, שוא² (v. 20)

Reaction of the just to the wicked: no compromise
with evil³ (vv. 21-22)

Theme of searching and knowing by God directly
associated, חקרני אל ודע (v. 23a)

God knows the intimate thought (v. 23b)

Motif of way, דרך (v. 24)

¹The word ארץ is absent in stanza two, which uses however the term שמים, which shows the respective concentration in the two stanzas.

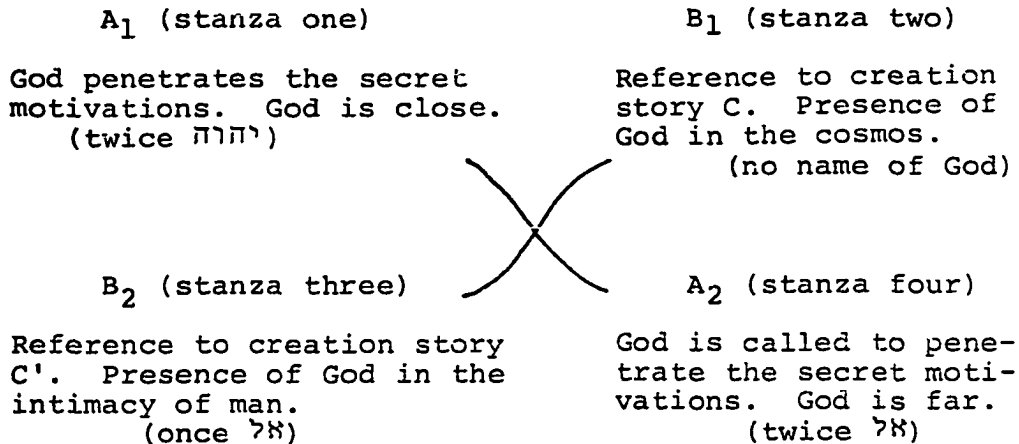
²We understand the expression נשא לשוא as an abbreviation of נשא שם יהוה לשוא, cf. Exod 20:7 (cf. Leupold, p. 949). It fits better in the context than "who lift themselves up" (Arnold A. Anderson, The Book of Psalms, NCB n.s., 2 vols. [London: Oliphants, 1972], 2:911) or "raise their eyes" (Dahood, 3:297).

³The hatred of evil is perfect (תכלית) and does not tolerate any concession to evil which implies a total engagement against it. On the contrary the wicked, the enemies of God, are those who do tolerate concessions to evil, the hypocrites.

Two times name of God¹: אלה (v. 19)

אל (v. 23)

Thus we have the following chiasm²:



We may notice two striking affinities between this Psalm and the Genesis creation pericopes.

1. The names of God are here also symmetrically distributed; when יהוה is used, אל is absent and conversely, when אל is used, יהוה is absent. Moreover, the two usages of יהוה in A₁ occur where God is experienced

¹As for the יהוה of v. 21, it must be deleted for the sake of the balance of the parallelism:

הלא משנאיך אשנה

ונחקוממך אחקוטט

as is suggested in BHK and supported by some manuscripts (cf. BHS), הלא being the anacrusis. On the other hand the number of the second-person suffix ך (from vv. 18-21) which systematically refer to God, who has moreover just been specifically mentioned in v. 18 (אלוה), does not make necessary the reference to יהוה once more.

²The perfect structure of the Psalm pleads in favor of its unity, which is a debated point (see W. Stewart McCullough, "Psalms," IB 4:712).

in his closeness to man; and the two usages of אֵל¹ in A₂ occur where God is addressed that he may come near, which implies a far distance between him and man.

2. Here also the reference to C' is in parallel to the reference to C and follows it immediately.

These two observations attest once more a reading of the creation pericopes which not only puts C and C' in parallel but also interprets the symmetric distribution of names in C as in C' according to a theological concern.

Psalm 148

The motifs which have points of contact with the Genesis creation pericopes² are brought up in another way than according to the chronological order of a seven-day creation. They are grouped in a "logical" organization

¹The use of the shorter forms אֵל and אֱלֹהִים rather than אֱלֹהִים might be explained on account of the rhetoric of the passage: God is not reported about but is addressed (cf. Job 6:9; Ps 10:12; 16:1; 17:6). We may notice, moreover, that the exceptional use of אֵל in B₂ does not alter the symmetry of A₁/A₂ as regards the names of God. Indeed, the fact that it is used only once in this passage instead of twice, not only shows that it has nothing to do with the just depicted literary device but indicates by the same way that it does not hold the same connection to the content.

²The contacts on the level of the vocabulary are not abundant, yet they are concerned with such characteristic points that they obviously betray the presence of C. For the expression of Gen 1:7 מַעַל לְרִקִּיעַ הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר we have the same pattern in Ps 148:4 מַעַל לְרִקִּיעַ הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר. Ps 148:3 brings also the same sequence sun-moon-stars as in Gen 1: v. 7 uses the same expression הַיָּרֵחַ וְהַכּוֹכָבִים as in Gen 1:21; in v. 19 we have עַץ פָּרִי as in Gen 1:11; in v. 10 we have here also the same sequence of the words חַיָּה, רֶמֶשׂ, בְּהֵמָה as in Gen 1:15 (cf. Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 41).

according to the elements heaven, water, earth and their respective content,¹ followed by the conclusion.

Element Heaven (vv. 1-4a)

- angel host (v. 2); cf. first section in C
- sun and moon, stars (v. 3)²: cf. fourth section in C

Element Water (vv. 4b-7)

- waters above (v. 4): cf. second section in C
- sea (its monsters) and deeps (v. 7b): cf. third section in C

Element Earth (vv. 9-13)

- ground: mountains and hills (v. 9a): cf. third section in C
- plants: fruit trees and cedars (v. 9b): cf. third section in C
- beasts (v. 10)
 - . beasts and cattle (v. 10a): cf. sixth section in C
 - . birds and creeping animals (v. 10b): cf. fifth section in C

¹Beauchamp sees the structure as binary (heavens-earth), yet pointing to the fact that "la mention des eaux d'en haut et celle des eaux d'en bas sont respectivement de chaque côté de la ligne divisant le poème lui-même" (Création et Séparation, pp. 347-48), he gives room to the tripartition we have pointed out. On the other hand, he assumes the same tripartition for C (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 42, 345).

²Notice the mention of stars separated from the luminaries sun and moon, as we find it in Gen 1:16.

- men (vv. 11-12); motif of the couple (cf. v. 12a):
cf. sixth section in C

Conclusion (v. 14)

- Israel in relationship with God: cf. seventh
section in C

A hint to C' might be perceived in the section concerned with the human world (vv. 11-12) which is described in terms of the couple.

It is moreover significant that the reference to the close relationship between God and his people constituted the last link of the Psalm, just as C where the Sabbath is placed after the record of the act of creation. Here as there the "religious" dimension of the creation is placed at the end as the existential application of the lesson. It is also noteworthy that this last step is concerned in terms of a relationship pointing thereby to the correspondent section in both C and C'. As for the introduction and the conclusion "הללויה", it gives the tone and the purpose of this reference to the event of the creation: praise to God, which receives there a universal connotation--it is used in absolute--and not in connection with something particular as it is within the body of the poem. This classical procedure is indeed also found in C. Yet since the Psalm belongs to the doxological part (Pss 146-150) which systematically uses this expression as the introduction and as the conclusion, we cannot, therefore, infer with certainty that this sty-

listic procedure is animated by the reference to C.

Indirect References to the
Creation Pericopes

Proverbs 8

The way of referring to creation is here different from that in the previous texts. The context points explicitly to the extraordinary value of wisdom. Our passage is then concerned to show the "unique" nature of wisdom. And in order to bring out this "ontological difference," it treats its "conception" (701, 777) by comparison and opposition to the rest of the creation. Wisdom was, as creation was not yet. That is to say that the reference to the creation pericopes will be brought up in a negative way, pointing at the same time to the all-important "structure" of the introductory section.¹

¹Berend Gemser remarks that these verses have their prototype in Egyptian and Babylonian creation poems as well as in Gen 1:2 and 2:5 (Sprüche Salomos, Handbuch zum Alten Testament 1, 16 [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1937], p. 38). He is followed by Helmer Ringgren, who points out that these verses are expressed "in words which remind one of Egyptian and Babylonian texts of Creation" (Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East [Lund: H. Ohlsson, 1948], p. 102). Roger N. Whybray discusses these correlations and although he acknowledges a slight affinity between these texts--"they all refer to the Creation of the world negatively in a series of temporal clauses"--he points out that the "clauses in Prov 8:22-31 differ markedly from the others in that they alone give an orderly and detailed . . . presentation of the events of Creation" (Wisdom in Proverbs: The Concept of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9 [Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson, 1965], p. 507). This fact already shows that our text refers to a tradition which scarcely has to do with Egyptian and Babylonian parallels.

Element Heaven:

The Lord acquired me (קנני) at the beginning of
 his way,¹ before his acts of old (vv. 22-23)
 From eternity I was formed (נִסְכַּחִי) before the
 beginning of the earth (v. 23)

Element Water:

When no depths were, I was brought forth (חוללתי),
 when there were no springs abounding with water
 (v. 24)

Element Earth:

When not yet mountains and before hills existed,
 I was brought forth (חוללתי) (v. 25)
 Before earth, fields and dust (v. 26)

Element Heaven:

When he based heavens I was there I (שם אני) (v. 27a)
 When he drew a circle on the face of the deep
 (v. 27b)
 When he made firm the skies above (v. 28a)

Element Water:

¹We may notice here that the ראשית is directly related to God and receives in the rest of the verse a time implication, yet with the connotation of eternity (for the temporal reference of ראשית here, see William McKane, Proverbs: A New Approach [London: SCM Press, 1970], p. 354). This "beginning" of Prov 8 has little to do with the beginning in Gen 1. In the former it is a beginning, the process of which takes place in God, while in the latter it is the beginning of the earth and heaven, i.e., related to the limited creation. Notice also the shift of ברא into קנה when the use of ראשית would expect also ברא.

When he strengthened the fountains of the deep
(v. 28b)

When he assigned to the sea its limit and the
waters did not transgress his command (v. 29a)

Element Earth:

When he drew the base of the earth, I was (רָאִיתִי)
in him as master workman (v. 29b)

Conclusion: A relationship of delight:

I was (רָאִיתִי) delights every day (v. 30a)

Playing before him at each time (v. 30b)

Playing with his globe (v. 31a)

And my delight was that the sons of men may be
rejoiced¹ (v. 31b).

That the creation pericope is referred to is
already evident from the motifs which are used in the
poem: we may perceive here also seven parts, in the
organization of the three basic elements in an order
which obviously recalls C and with the same character
of discontinuity²: heaven, water, earth, heaven,

¹The translation is ours. We understand the particle *נֶאֱמַר* as the *nota accusativi* and not as a preposition (near, with). *נֶאֱמַר* is related to the subject "my delight" as well as to the accusative: "my delight is the delight of sons of men." This interpretation will then have the merit of doing justice to the general context which is concerned with the creation, i.e., as long as sons of men are not yet on earth.

²This discontinuity of creation has been interpreted by Umberto Cassuto as an indirect reference to God who is, on the contrary, unity: "L'antico uomo d'Israele vede l'assoluta unità solo in Dio; tutto il resto gli appare plurimo e multiforme" ("La creazione del mondo nella

water, earth, relationship of delight.¹

The contacts of vocabulary between Prov 8 and C and C' are not less significant.

With C we have the characteristic words ראשית (v. 22), echoed in שאל twice (vv. 23, 26), and חורם (vv. 24, 27, 28). This repetition is eloquent of the concern of the passage, i.e., the beginning and the nothingness.

Moreover, as we observe the perfect structure of the passage and the regularity of the formulas, we realize also the intentional aspect of style. Two specific literary features have drawn our attention to the reflection of the presence of C: (1) The wisdom refers to its interruptions seven times, each one being marked by the first person²; (2) all these references are articulated

Genesei," Annuario di studi ebraici 1 [1934]:14). The same observation has been made in different terms by Schmidt: "Etwas zugespitzt ausgedrückt, geht es der Priesterschrift, der es so sehr auf die Unterscheidung der Dinge ankommt, bei der Wortinterpretation entsprechend um die Unterscheidung von Gott and Welt" (Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 173).

¹The use of the word *שש* is significant and seems to be intentional, used twice: once in connection with God (vv. 30c, 31a), once in connection with man (v. 31b) pointing to the seventh step of the creation, namely, the Sabbath. It has indeed a strong religious connotation referring to the rejoicing of keeping the law of God: out of the nine usages in the whole Bible, five occur significantly in Ps 119 (see vv. 24, 77, 92, 143, 174).

For the idea of law in Prov 8, see Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, pp. 363-73.

²In the whole text the first person is used significantly seven times. Noteworthy also is the progres-

with a time clause: "at the beginning . . . from the eternity . . . when," etc.

Against the background of the certain reference to C, these two observations become particularly significant: they point to the seven emergences of the creative words of God (וַיֵּאמֶר)¹ which are also related to a time clause: בְּרֵאשִׁית in C.

A significant common wording is also to be noted with C' and this is the characteristic use of אֵין and טָרַם in the introduction: twice אֵין and once טָרַם in a symmetric way with regard to C' which has in its introduction once אֵין and twice טָרַם.²

sion of this irruption which is here suggested: conception (קִנְיָה), formation (בְּסֻכָּה), birth (חִלּוּלָהּ), presence (שֵׁם אֵין), eternal existence (אֵלֶּיָּהּ); noteworthy is the fact that the last expression (also in repetition) has been in a characteristic way related to the Tetragrammaton in the biblical tradition (cf. Exod 3:12-14).

¹This particular reference to the creation pericopes places the concept of wisdom within the specific biblical tradition and would not support any interpretation of borrowing from outside as it has especially been argued by William F. Albright, referring to a Canaanite-Phoenician origin ("Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," in Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East: Presented to Harold H. Rowley, VTSup 3 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955], especially pp. 7-10). This origin has been discussed by Whybray, Wisdom in Proverbs, pp. 83-87, who concludes that "there is no reason to suppose that the personification in Proverbs was not in origin a native Israelite phenomenon" (ibid., p. 87).

²This common wording has also been noticed by Roger N. Whybray: "At first sight it is Gen 2:4b-7 which most closely resembles Prov 8:22-31. The negative temporal clauses, especially the words w^ekōl . . . ṭerem (twice), 'ayin and ki lō' in v. 5 are reminiscent

The נבואה of Jeremiah

The historical background of Jeremiah's prophecy which carries on the germs of the end and thereby his particular theology, i.e., his aspiration for a renewal expressed by means of a new covenant, was to lead the prophet Jeremiah to a particular reflection on creation.¹ Indeed more than once he reflects the particular terminology² of the Genesis creation pericope, placing this reference in the perspective of his vision. All of these allusions are sufficiently clear to indicate a relationship.

of the temporal particles of Prov 8:22-31 (bē'ēn, twice, v. 24; bēterem, v. 25; 'ad lō', v. 26)" ("Proverbs 8:22-31 and its supposed Prototypes," VT 15 [1965]:511).

¹Cf. Bernhard W. Anderson, "Creation," IDB 1:726.

²See especially Jer 31:35-37 and Jer 33:10-25. Among the references to creation we may also count Jer 4:23-26, which has been analyzed as such again by Michael Fishbane ("Jeremiah 4:23-26 and Job 3:3-13: A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," VT 21 [1971]:151-167). However, its stylistic affinities to C which the latter points out are not convincing and may even be false. The order of Jer 4:23-26 does not follow the order of Gen 1. Thus we have ארץ before שמים (in C it comes after); ארץ before שמים (in C it comes after), and אדם before עוף (in C it comes after). Fishbane argues that the first and the third cases do not disprove his point (it seems that he failed to notice the second). Yet it escapes Fishbane that the structure of Jer 4 is indeed essentially different from Gen 1 and follows other principles (cf. supra pp. 63-66). Thus the motif of the wrath of God is only connected with the cities of Carmel--and cannot thereby be identified as the correspondent of the Sabbath in C. The only literary phenomenon which indeed reveals a reference to C and to C' is the fact that the חור ובהר is connected with ארץ (see C, Gen 1:2) and the ארץ is connected with אדם (see C', Gen 2:5c) (cf. supra p. 65). Except for this interesting echo, Jer 4:23-26 does not lend itself to the stylistic comparison. The latter observation is, by the way, also valuable for Isa 45:19 (cf. supra p. 65).

But the one link which is the most specific in Jeremiah is his use of the stylistic expression par excellence attached to the Genesis creation pericope, i.e., בראשית. Although the reference is here indirect, a link with the Genesis pericope remains incontestable.¹ The book of Jeremiah is the only one in the Hebrew Bible which employs this expression. The significance of his emphasis is thrown into relief not only by means of the repetition, but especially by the fact that each usage presents the same regular pattern revealing seemingly an "intentional" pattern of style. Each instance uses the expression בראשית in status constructus which is always articulated on the utterance of the word of God: אמר. This pattern undoubtedly reflects the structure we noticed in the introduction of C. There also the word of God (אמר) is articulated on בראשית and comes after it:

"In the beginning (בראשית) . . . God said (ויאמר),"
Gen 1:1-3.

¹This exegesis is already seriously attested in the Talmud (see B. Talmud Sanhedrin 103a and Arakin 17a). Commenting the presence of this word in the book of Jeremiah, André Neher notices: "Aussi bien la notion de Genèse est-elle centrale dans le livre de Jérémie. Centrale à la manière d'un centre de gravité autour duquel tout se noue, tout s'organise. Elle figure dans les chapitres médians--26, 27, 28--de ce livre qui en comporte 52, sculptée dans les six lettres du mot hébreu béréchéit, par lequel commence la Bible, et qui, dans toute la Bible, ne se retrouve que dans le livre de Jérémie. בראשית, le mot qui interroge, à la fois, le chaos et la lumière, qui a vue sur les deux, et qui seul peut faire surgir l'une et l'autre. C'est dans ce mot que se trouve le secret organisateur du livre de Jérémie" (André Neher, Jérémie [Paris: Plon, 1960], pp. vi-vii).

"In the beginning of (בראשית) . . . came this word from the Lord saying (אמר)," Jer 26:1.

"In the beginning of (בראשית) . . . came this word . . . from the Lord saying (אמר)," Jer 27:1.

"In the beginning of (בראשית)¹ . . . said (אמר) to me Hanania the prophet² saying (אמר) thus speaks (אמר) the Lord," Jer 28:1.

"The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, in the beginning of (בראשית) . . . saying (אמר)," Jer 49:34-35.

Thus when בראשית is used, we have regularly (four

¹This verse shows that בראשית does not convey here simply the idea of beginning pointing to the year of accession (see infra p. 112). Instead, by the means of this stylistic expression the prophet suggests a hint to the creation pericope C. Thus the prophet does not think here in rigorous terms of chronology, his thought is more on an associative level; and therefore he does not hesitate to use בראשית in connection with the fourth year of reign. The contradiction is just apparent and is not the sign of "a conflation of two variant traditions" (John G. Janzen, Studies in the Text of Jeremiah, Harvard Semitic Monographs 6 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], p. 15). And this does not allow the commendation upon the basis of the witness of the LXX (see John Bright, Jeremiah, AB [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965], p. 200), which is moreover here and elsewhere in the chapter widely divergent from the MT, the former being condensed while the latter is more expanded in nature.

²The breaking of the rule in this case is significant: Hanania is a false prophet speaking as if he were sent by God. Thus the utterance of his "prophecy" will receive the same form as the divine one but it is in fact his own production. The subtlety of the difference expresses once more the difficulty of distinguishing between the false prophecy and the authentic one, one of the problems which belongs specifically to Jeremiah's concern (see Thomas W. Overholt, The Threat of Falsehood: A Study in the Theology of the Book of Jeremiah, Studies in Biblical Theology 2/16 [Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson, 1970], pp. 38-40; cf. Eva Osswald, Falsche Prophetie im Alten Testament [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1962], pp. 12-26).

times) the same pattern of association of the same three motifs, i.e., בראשית-God-saying (אמר).

Noteworthy is also in the last passage the fact that not only the word of God is connected with בראשית, but it is also articulated seven times within the limits of the unit concerned with Elam¹ by means of the regular use of the perfectum propheticum always in the first person²: והבאתי, וזרתיים, והחתתי, והבאתי, ושלחתי, ושמתי: והאבדתי. Thus the introduction of the unit recalls the structure of C in the fact that the בראשית emerges in the word of God (אמר), and the whole unit reflects also the development of the word of God in seven steps. We have seen that this is precisely one of the most specific literary features of C.³

The way the expression בראשית is used throughout the book of Jeremiah shows not only that our author was informed of the literary structure of C such as we have drawn it previously, thereby supporting our picture, but reflects at the same time indirectly a free association of thought with the creation pericope.

Indeed, the repeated use of the term בראשית, which which is a perfect echo of the first word of the creation pericope C, i.e., its "code" within a structure, which at

¹Vv. 34-39.

²We have already noticed the same stylistic phenomenon in Prov 8 (see supra p. 106).

³Cf. supra p. 38.

each instance recalls the Introduction of the creation pericope C, shows the intentionality of this "reference."¹

Conclusion

Our consideration of biblical texts which point to the structure of the Genesis creation, has indicated that they use characteristic words which belong specifi-

¹Thus all these "stylistic" evidences provided by the book of Jeremiah itself would hardly support the thesis of some scholars who agree that בראשית points to the Akkadian reš šarruti and must, therefore, be taken as a terminus technicus for the "accession year" (see Bright, p. 169; cf. Jack Finegan, Handbook of Biblical Chronology: Principles of Time Reckoning in the Ancient World and Problems of Chronology in the Bible [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964], pp. 195-96). Some other reasons repudiate the latter alternative: (1) The variations of the second element מלכות (Jer 26:1), ממלכה (Jer 27:1), מלכות (Jer 49:34), while the first element בראשית remains always the same, indicate that the expression as a whole is not in the Hebrew text a terminus technicus. If the whole expression were a terminus technicus, it would hardly be so flexible. (2) If the Hebrew expression indeed reflected the Akkadian, why did he not choose the word ראש rather than ראשית? The former form is indeed closer to the Akkadian than the latter and its usage is also attested with a time-meaning (see BDB, s.v. "ראש" [4b]); cf. also perhaps the expression ראש השנה of Ezek 40:5). (3) If בראשית was a terminus technicus coming from the Babylonian influence, why do we find it only in the book of Jeremiah, whereas this concept is not unique to Jeremiah, and the Babylonian influence is also working in other books such as Ezekial and at least the second book of Kings, which never use such an expression--not to speak of the influence of the Babylonian language which was already present long before the time of Jeremiah (see Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962], p. 16). On the other hand, it is significant that some fifty years later, Ezra will use ברחל and not בראשית in connection with the same word מלכות (see Ezra 4:6, ברחל מלכות; cf. Jer 49:34, בראשית (מלכות)). If indeed it was a terminus technicus there are some chances that it would have been transmitted as such, i.e., מלכות with בראשית and this in spite of the shift of foreign regime from the Babylonian to the Persian.

cally to the Genesis pericopes and which occur in them in the same order. In addition to this, they reveal once again the same literary structure which has been previously perceived. This involves the same pattern for the outer frame of introduction and conclusion, and the identical repetition of motifs in the same rhythm of seven successive steps.

Moreover, the way they reflect the literary structure of the Genesis creation pericopes, brings out an essential difference between them and the latter. Indeed, these texts do not aim to tell about the event of creation. For them, the reference to the creation event is just a pretext within their respective historical, theological or religious concern. They do not tell, "they refer to" for the sake of their own purposes. That is the reason why they do not hesitate sometimes to break the harmony of the structure, although the common pattern they share reflects clearly the literary structure of the Genesis creation pericopes.

The function of the Genesis creation pericopes, on the contrary, is only to tell about the event. The former ones are fed by something which lies outside of them; the latter ones are fed by something inherent to them.

This essential difference of function would hardly support the thesis of Schmidt who believes that all

the texts go back to a common tradition, including the Genesis creation pericopes.¹

In other words, if the Genesis creation texts do not present themselves as "referring to" whereas the other texts present themselves as such, it may be because the former consider themselves as, or because they are, a source; while the latter consider themselves as, or because they are, belonging to "the stream of tradition" which transmits. The former is at the creative stage of the composition,² the latter is at the stage of the tradition which repeats.

At any rate, these repeated echoes reveal the faithfulness to a common source, and hence the importance they granted to that source. Now the fact that the most complete and perfect picture of the structure is found in the Genesis pericopes³ while the other texts convey just

¹See Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 45. Cf. Frame, p. 176; cf. also Kraus, Psalmen, pp. 709-10.

²Ps 104, for instance, which reflects most faithfully the literary structure of C, has been so perceived by Van der Voort: "Le psalmiste tient pour bien évident que Dieu a tout créé. . . . La création n'est pas ici le principal, mais plutôt matière à illustration" (pp. 336-37; cf. also p. 329). He is against Arent J. Wensinck, who sees it as a "kind of record of the Creation" (see The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites, Verhandelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks 19, 2 [Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1968], p. 2).

³Cf. John McKenzie: "In fact it is only one of the Old Testament versions of creation; it has become a pattern because it is complete" (A Theology of the Old Testament [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974], p. 187).

pieces of it, in addition to the fact that the parallelism between C and C' is constantly echoed in those texts, indicated that our texts refer specifically to the Genesis creation pericopes, which were therefore the source.

Thus both the creativity of the author and the "essential" connection between C and C',¹ which have been indicated in a previous phase upon the basis of the literary data, are now attested by the biblical stream of tradition.

Yet a subsequent question now arises. Could the intentionality of the literary creation be maintain if what we found as being properly the style of the text happened to come from an outside source or--assuming that there is no text which would appear to be clearly its source--if the literary features are sufficiently attested elsewhere to conceive it as traditional? Therefore our investigation is required to go beyond the limits of the Bible in order to check to what extent the biblical creation pericopes are literarily dependent on an outside source, to evaluate at least--if it is necessary--the nature of this connection.

¹It is significant that the latter connection appears especially as the text is concerned with man; cf. supra pp. 85-87 (Ps 104), p. 90 (Job 38-42), p. 102 (Ps 148).

CHAPTER III

THE EXTRA-BIBLICAL STREAM OF TRADITION

Introduction

As we did for the biblical tradition, we shall confine this chapter to texts from the ancient Near East which appear to reflect in some way the literary structure of the Genesis creation pericopes.

On account of the cultural gap which separated the two literatures, the field of our investigation itself will be greatly limited. The languages are different and, therefore, do not provide any objective justification for such comparative study. Moreover, even if the words are cognate, the worlds of thought are too different to point to the same concept.¹

¹This distinctiveness of the biblical world of thought and faith has been defended by scholars of the stature of William F. Albright, for whom "the basic miracle of Israel's faith . . . remains a unique factor in world history" (The Archeology of Palestine [London: Penguin Books, 1956], p. 255), and other scholars in Egyptology and Assyriology. "It is possible to detect the reflection of Egyptian and Mesopotamian beliefs in many episodes of the Old Testament, but the overwhelming impression left by that document is one, not of derivation but of originality" (Henri Frankfort, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946], pp. 363-64). Cf. also Walther Eichrodt's critical review of Harry E. Fosdick's book "A Guide to the Understanding of the Bible," in JBL 65 (1946):205; Yehezkel Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel:

Our investigation will have to proceed with caution. We will consider those literary features which are sufficiently significant to be transmissible in "translation."¹

As a matter of fact only two texts have been said to have significant parallels.² The first belongs to the

From its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), especially pp. 2, 3; and Frederick F. Bruce, Israel and the Nations: From the Exodus to the Fall of the Second Temple (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1963), pp. 11-12.

¹In the wide sense of the term which implies not only the passage from one language to another, but also from one civilization to another.

²With Beauchamp: "On ne signale pas d'autres parallèles extra-bibliques" (Création et Séparation, p. 128). We have not taken into account the Egyptian texts of the Memphite Theology for two reasons. (1) Regarding the content, the concept of creation which is there brought up is essentially different from what is involved in Gen 2. "All the divine orders really came into being through what the heart thought and the tongue commanded" (ANET, p. 5b). Indeed, it is there also a creation by word, and this fact would hint of the structure of C which connects the whole creation of the world to the word of God. However, in Memphite Theology the word contains the creative power in itself, and the creation consists, therefore, in using the right formula. The process is first of all magic, as Samuel G. F. Brandon puts it: "The Creation was effected by magical utterance" (Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963], p. 38; Cf. also Westermann, Genesis, p. 56, and Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 177). In Gen 1, on the contrary, the word is effective because it is of God. The power is not in the word but in God. It is significant that the style of Gen 1 points to the word of God in terms of a verb which always has God as subject (וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים). It has no existence in itself. On the other hand, the fact that this וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים of C finds its correspondent in C' by an action of God shows the way the biblical author understood it: the speaking of God is an action of God, it is history, and not just a divine utterance. It is not magic (on this issue see the discussion of Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Significance of the Cosmology

Egyptian literature and has been detected in the "Instruction for King Merikare"¹ and the second is found in the Babylonian epic "Enuma Elish."²

The Instruction for King Merikare

This text has been studied by Siegfried Herrmann³ who has called it the "small Genesis"⁴ on account of its supposed similarities to C.

Well tended is mankind--god's cattle,
He made sky and earth for their sake,
He subdued the water monster,
He made breath for their noses to live.
They are his images, who came from his body,
He shines in the sky for their sake;
He made for them plants and cattle,
Fowl and fish to feed them.
He slew his foes, reduced his children,

in Genesis 1 in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Parallels," AUSS 10 [1972]:9-12; see also idem, "The Polemic Nature Of the Genesis Cosmology," EvQ 46 [1974]:90-91). (2) Regarding the form, the literary situation does not lend it self at all to any literary confrontation with C; there is on this point nothing in common with the Genesis text of creation.

Some scholars have also argued an affinity of structure in the Egyptian text of the "Book of the Apophis" (ANET, p. 65; cf. Gemser, pp. 38-39; Ringgren, p. 102, n. 5), but this affinity is confined to the causal clause (when . . .) and even here is not convincing.

¹See Miriam Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings, vol. 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 97-109.

²See ANET, pp. 60-72.

³"Die Naturlehre des Schöpfungsberichtes: Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte von Genesis 1," TLZ 86 (1961):418-19.

⁴Ibid., p. 419.

When they thought of making rebellion.
 He makes daylight for their sake,
 He sails by to see them.
 He has built his shrine around them;;
 When they weep he hears.¹

Some similarities might be perceived. Thus the creation of heaven and earth is negatively associated with the element of waters.² We may also notice the sequence birds/fish.

On the other hand, it is remarkable that the Egyptian text seems also to point to a thought related to C', as it deals with the creation of man: "He made breath for their noses to live." Then this text is interesting insofar as it may reveal an association between the specific theme of each biblical creation pericope, namely, in C the universal creation of heaven and earth including man as image of God,³ and in C' the particular formation of man.

¹Lichtheim, p. 106.

²Cf. also W. M. Flinders Petrie, "Cosmogony and Cosmology (Egyptian)," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1910-27), 4:144.

³The idea of the creation of man as an image of God is also apparent here: "They who have issued from his body (God) are his images." Yet this last point is not to be considered as a literary feature as is the case for associations; it just belongs to the same order of thought.

We must, moreover, be aware of the gap which separates the two thoughts: the image of God is here explained on account of his origin out of the body of God. In the Bible, on the contrary, the idea of image of God implies an ontological difference (cf. Jacques Doukhan, "Die Berufung zur Verschiedenartigkeit," Gewissen und Freiheit 7 [1977]:6-11).

Yet these "possible" parallels¹ are not significant as far as we are concerned with the specific question of the literary structure, since the latter deals only with movements of the whole and does not pay attention to separate details. We can hardly advocate a structural correspondence between the Genesis creation pericopes and this Egyptian text. The order of God's creative acts also differs from the Genesis creation pericopes,² not to speak of the rest.

The Enuma Elish Epic

The structural comparison of Enuma Elish with the Genesis creation pericopes is much more difficult to come by than that of the Egyptian text. The length of the document--a little more than a thousand verses--and the separation of the creation motifs scattered throughout the epic³ do not yield a clear picture of its general structure. Only two literary features might be brought

¹The sequence plants-light that Herrmann discovers in the text (see col. 420) is not defensible. The text mentions the animals, birds and fishes between plants and light. The light seems rather to be referred to in connection with the victory of God over the enemies.

²Cf. Beauchamp: "Le poème ne vise pas à aligner les oeuvres du Dieu en ordre de production ni même dans aucun ordre systématique" (Création et Séparation, p. 128).

³Tablets II, III and most of I and IV do not deal with creation at all. And by the way, the number seven of the tablets could then hardly be connected with the seven days of creation (see Heidel, p. 106).

out: (1) The introduction as a subordinate temporal clause and (2) the order of the works of creation.

The Introduction

Significantly enough, Speiser has noticed the affinity of structure between the beginning of Enuma Elish and the introduction of the Genesis creation pericopes:

A closer examination reveals that vs. 2 is a parenthetic clause: "the earth being then a formless waste . . ." with the main clause coming in vs. 3. The structure of the whole sentence is thus schematically as follows: "(1) When . . . (2) at which time . . . (3) then." Significantly enough, the analogous account (by J) in 2:4b-7 shows the identical construction with vs. 5-6 constituting a circumstantial description. Perhaps more important still, the related, and probably normative arrangement at the beginning of Enuma Elish exhibits exactly the same kind of structure: dependent temporal clauses (lines 1-2); parenthetic clauses (3-8); main clause (9).¹

The text is as follows:

- 1- When on high the heaven had not been named,²
- 2- Firm ground below had not been called by name,²
- 3- Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter
- 4- (And) Mummu-Tiamat, she who bore them all,
- 5- Their waters commingling as a single body;
- 6- No reed hut had been matted, no marsh land had appeared;
- 7- When no gods whatever had been brought into being,
- 8- Uncalled by name, their destinies undetermined--
- 9- Then it was that the gods were formed within them.³

¹Speiser, Genesis, p. 12. Cf. supra p. 57-59.

²The expression points to the very existence; as Heidel rightly understands, they mean that they "did not yet exist as such" (p. 7).

³ANET, pp. 60, 61. "Them" refers to the waters of Apsu and Tiamat.

The correspondence does not work in terms of quantity; "lines 1-8 correspond to the three clauses of vs. 2; line 9 corresponds to vs. 3."¹ The significance of the parallel comes out in the movement of the design itself, i.e., the structure, rather than in its constituent elements. Does this mean that they point to the same concepts?

The case of the introduction is the most acute problem. It has been at the center of the debate for many years and the question is not yet settled. The presence of the apparently cognate words Tiamat in Enuma Elish and תַּמַּת in the biblical pericope has often been interpreted as one more argument in behalf of the connection. And the dispute has then been raised whether philology supports this connection,² overlooking the fact that the mere phonetic relation of the two words within a similar association of thought--both are concerned with a "genesis"--and the same structure was sufficient to indicate the possibility of a common pattern.³ Thus, even though the two words may not be etymologically related,

¹See Hasel, "Recent Translations of Genesis 1:1," p. 163.

²See Heidel, pp. 90, 100.

³Whether the two words are etymologically connected has no importance for the biblical way of etymologizing proper names, for it does not follow scientific rules (cf. Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament [New York: Harper & Row, 1958], p. 50; Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen, p. 5).

the fact that they have been placed at a correspondent place in parallel structures may justify the relation.

Now does this mean that we are right in interpreting the biblical data in the light of the Babylonian on the basis of their literary connection? As a matter of fact the biblical author has provided the key, and that is the parallelism of structure between C and C'. The juxtaposition of the two introductions brings out clearly the fact that we have to understand the biblical concept of *תהו* in terms of not yet (*טרום*), of non-action (*לא*), of non-existence (*אין*). In other words, the concepts of negativeness on the universal level, which is expressed in Gen 1 by the words of *תהו ובהו*, *תהו* and of *אין*, receive their "relative" correspondence on the human level in Gen 2 with the expression of *טרום*, of *לא* and of *אין*.¹

Thus the Genesis creation pericope would have definitely neutralized any possible reference to a pre-existent "divine" element along with God. Even if Tiamat were behind the *תהו*, which is still to be established,²

¹Cf. supra pp. 52, 62, 71. So the fear of von Rad that in dealing with the vv. 1-3 as a syntactical unit, "the word about chaos would stand logically and temporally before the word about creation," is not justified (Genesis, p. 46). Cf. also the fear of Frank Michaeli who hesitates to adopt this translation for the mere reason that "cela supposerait qu'avant la création de Dieu, la terre existait déjà sous la forme d'un chaos . . . c'est-à-dire du néant" (Le livre de la Genèse, coll. "La Bible ouverte" [Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1957], p. 16).

²This thesis is defended since Hermann Gunkel

we should have to interpret the latter in the sense of "not yet." Using a literary pattern which was very common in ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies, and using it twice within the parallelism between C and C' which implies a conscious act of writing, it seems that the biblical author was concerned to provide in this way the specific connotations of what he meant, namely, a creation out of the "not yet"--in C on the cosmic level, in C' on the human level.¹

The Order of the Works of Creation

The problem is here more complex on account of the length of the text and of its obscurities. The scheme of Heidel² has not convinced everybody. Thus the third point which occurs in his list, namely, his reference to the light, is far from being consistent. Heidel himself assumes that it is not a creation of light but

(Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen I und Ap Joh 12, 2d ed. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921], pp. 29-30; idem, Genesis, 8th ed. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969], pp. 109-12) by scholars such as Bernhard W. Anderson, Creation Versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible (New York: Associated Press, 1967), p. 39; Brevard S. Childs, Myth and Reality in the Old Testament, Studies in Biblical Theology 27 (Naperville: Ill.: A. R. Allenson, 1960), pp. 36-37. Actually many scholars argue against it. See Westermann, Genesis, p. 149; Walther Zimmerli, 1. Mose 1-11: Die Urgeschichte, Zürcher Bibelkommentare, 3rd ed. (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967), p. 42; Hasel, "The Polemic Nature of the Genesis Cosmology," p. 81-102.

¹Cf. supra p. 62, n. 2.

²p. 108 [Speiser endorses this order, see

just a "divine attribute,"¹ "the rays of Mumu."² In fact there is no explicit creation of light before the appearance of the luminaries. And even the reference to the halo of the god is only incidental and has nothing to do

Genesis, p. 10]:

<u>Enûma elish</u>	Genesis
Divine spirit and cosmic matter are coexistent and coeternal	Divine spirit creates cosmic matter and exists independently of it
Primeval chaos: Ti'âmat enveloped in darkness	The earth a desolate waste, with darkness covering the deep (<u>têhôm</u>)
Light emanating from the gods	Light created
The creation of the firmament	The creation of the firmament
The creation of dry land	The creation of dry land
The creation of the luminaries	The creation of the luminaries
The creation of man	The creation of man
The gods rest and celebrate	The Lord rests and sanctifies the seventh day

¹P. 86.

²Tablet 1 line 68, in *ibid.*, p. 10.

with the light as such as conceived by Genesis.¹ Even this should rather be related to the sun. In I.102 Marduk is called "son of the sun-god, son of the sun of the gods." If there were some connection, it should be with the fourth day of the Genesis creation pericope.²

The next point in discussion occurs at the fifth section of the list and refers to the creation of the dry land. His opinion is based upon vv. 143-143, wherein the esharra is interpreted as being "a poetical designation of the earth."³ Yet the nature of this element is differently identified by other scholars. Thus Speiser in ANET translates "which he made as a firmament" (ša-ma-mu)⁴ instead "which he made as a canopy" by Heidel.⁵ For René Labat lines 143-145 describe merely the fabrication of heaven without any mention of the earth.⁶ Immediately

¹See also Marie-Joseph Lagrange: "Il est donc plus que douteux que dans la cosmogonie babylonienne la lumière joue le même rôle que dans le récit de la Création" ("La cosmogonie de Bérose," RB 7 [1898]:401). Cf. also Gunkel for whom the light exists already with the gods, and with the god Marduk the luminaries will appear (Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 116).

²Cf. Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 100, n. 5, and Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 125.

³Heidel, p. 32, n. 93.

⁴ANET, p. 67b.

⁵P. 32, col. 145.

⁶René Labat, "Les origines et la formation de la terre, dans le poème babylonien de la Création," in Studia biblica et orientalia, ed. Pontifical Biblical Institute, Analecta Biblica 12, 3 vols. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1959), vol. 3: Oriens Antiquus, p. 208. For

following the creation of the liminaries in Tablet V we find a reverse order from that in the biblical creation pericope (stars, sun, moon).

In view of these two basic modifications, the list of the works of creation will then become:

- 1) Heaven and earth not yet
- 2) The God Apsu
- 3) The goddess Tiamat
- 4) Firmament
- 5) Vault of heaven
- 6) Luminaries (in terms of mythology)¹
- 7) Creation of man (from the blood of God)
- 8) Rest of God

Thus not only the biblical order is now overthrown but all takes place in fact on the level of the gods and in the heavenly world. Even the creation of man is to be grasped in this perspective. This outlook marks the basic difference from the biblical pericope. As Heidel notes it:

In the Babylonian stories man's creation is told from the viewpoint of the Gods while in Genesis it is told from the viewpoint of man.²

Daniel A. Deimel esharra designates the heavenly vault based on the earth ("Enuma elis" und Hexaëmeron, Sacra Scriptura antiquitatibus orientalibus illustrata 5 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1934], p. 87). Noteworthy is the fact that Heidel himself uses the same term of "vault" as a synonym for the canopy (p. 97).

¹Cf. Heidel, p. 98.

²Ibid., p. 101. Cf. also Skinner, pp. 55, 66.

It is noteworthy, however, that the only time where a non-divine element is referred to in creation it is in connection with the creation of man, who comes as a result of the mixture of the blood of a God and of earth. Here the element earth is regarded as being in essence the non-god element in man. Once more, as we noticed in the Egyptian text, two traditions of a creation of man in the likeness of God (blood) and a man formed out of earth which are separated in C and in C' are here associated in the same report.¹

The extra-biblical stream of tradition would then in a certain sense confirm the structural connection which has been found between the two biblical creation pericopes, eventually witnessing to a related association of ideas.

Conclusion

An extra-biblical stream of tradition is attested and somehow recalls in terms of its literary structure the biblical creation pericope C with its introduction, its thematic order and its reference to C'. All of this brings up the complicated problem of the nature of their relationship.

We have seen that the structure of the introduc-

¹This reference both to the divine element and to the earth in the process of the creation of man is one of the most prominent concepts in the Babylonian tradition (cf. Heidel, pp. 35, 36, 54-59).

tion in the biblical creation pericope C seems to have been drawn out according to a literary pattern which happens to be used also in the ancient Near Eastern literature. Yet the fact that this pattern is reproduced in C' shows that the author uses it intentionally and thereby points to his independence. The author does not confine himself to reproduction but dominates the "given" in order to use it for his own purposes: it is intentional.

This intentionality might be explained in two ways: (1) The author was aware of a Tiamat myth and voluntarily imitated the pattern in order to situate the story he is going to tell with response to it. In this case the author would have related תהוֹם, etc., to the idea of negativeness in the very concern of a "conscious and deliberate antimythical polemic."¹ The reason is here from outside. (2) The author was totally ignorant of the existence of this myth--it is then an independent parallel--and the intentionality must have been limited to the repetition of the structure of C in C'. In this case the author would have related תהוֹם, etc., to the idea of

¹Hasel, "The Polemic Nature of the Genesis Cosmology," p. 91. Cf. Johannes Hempel, "Glaube, Mythos und Geschichte im Alten Testament," ZAW 65 (1953):126-28. Cf. also Walther Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961-67), 1:186, 187. Cf. LaRondelle: "It is the indirect polemical 'de-mythologizing' (Entmythisierung) character of Gen. 1, an aspect which has been recognized more and more in the light of the various cosmogonies or theogonies of antiquity" (p. 52). Cf. also Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, pp. 21-32, 177-80; Bernhard W. Anderson, Creation Versus Chaos, pp. 30-33; Childs, pp. 31-42.

negativeness merely in order to avoid the possible ambiguity of a preexistent matter, since the water element may also be understood with a connotation of positive existence. The reason is here from outside.¹

The inconsistency in gender of the word תהום would equally support both theses. With regard to the former, it would express this concern of depersonalizing² the mythic figure of Tiamat. With regard to the latter, it would indicate a qualification of the earth at this stage of the not-yet in the same way as תהור ובהר or חשך.³

With regard to the order of the works of creation, the relation is more complex. They are basically differ-

¹Yet the question which remains in the latter case unresolved is the affinity of structure with the extra-biblical texts. The possibility of chance is to be rejected on account of the strong intentionality which has been at work in the process of writing; the only reason which can be considered is that the author simply used a current literary pattern without being aware of its usage elsewhere, or at least without being disturbed by this usage.

²See Mary K. Wakemann: "The inconsistency in gender reflected both in the form of the word and in its agreement with verbs and adjectives would seem to indicate that the word is in the process of being depersonalized" ("God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery" [Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1969], p. 144).

³Cf. Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, p. 81. It is interesting to notice here that the impersonal meaning of תהום has been attested in a bilingual lexicon found at Ebla and dating as early as the third millennium B.C. Indeed, it simply means there "watery abyss" (see Giovanni Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell-Mardikh-Ebla," *BA* 39 [1976]:50). Yet it is presently unknown whether this word has been used there within a similar literary structure as in C; in this case it would resolve the problem raised *supra*, p. 130, n. 1).

ent. As a matter of fact, the poems do not aim to range the works of the creator according to their order of production; there is no systematic order. The main reason for this literary phenomenon is the same as in the biblical stream of tradition. Our texts do not intend to report a creation story, which is just for them an incidental pretext within the larger context of the epic or the teaching. Their relation to an original creation story is then brought in terms of mere reference. In contrast to the Bible, they transmit a tradition. They do not originate it. This observation is important, for it makes us aware of an amazing fact which points to the creativity of the biblical author: the only record of creation that we have so far in the whole ancient literature is contained in the Bible in Gen 1 and 2.

Moreover, the incidental reflection of a tradition which points to elements we find in both C and C', in the latter especially with regard to the creation of man,¹ constitutes a remarkable witness that the concepts expressed in C may be associated to those of C'. This not only confirms our connection between the two texts, but subtly tells of the intentionality of the dissociation

¹We already noticed the case in the biblical stream of tradition (cf. supra p. 115, n. 2). That this reference appears with regard to man is not surprising. C' is only concerned with the creation of man and it was, therefore, expected that as soon as the text deals with this creation (common point of C and C') it is designed to reflect the two biblical creation pericopes.

of the two aspects of the creation of man into two parallel records--indeed a token pointing to common authorship.

Thus, following the lessons of the literary structure of C in relationship with C' and its support in the biblical stream of tradition, now we have witnessed that the extra-biblical texts point to the creativity of the biblical author and invite henceforth a reconsideration of the literary process which has been at work in the production of the biblical creation pericope C.

PART II

THE LITERARY COMPOSITION

INTRODUCTION

The literary structure of the biblical creation pericope has given access to the internal data of the literary operation pointing mainly to the creative and intentional side of the process of writing. It is now necessary to examine to what extent this penetration also provides significant information regarding the nature of its connection with the external data. Actually the composition of a written work gives evidence not only subjective creative elements, it also takes into account the objective situation which comes to it. An author must work with material which is known and familiar to the reader, otherwise his creativity cannot be transmitted. In order to transmit his message, he depends upon "codes" which do not belong specifically to him. Thus, in fact, the author is conditioned by a certain amount of literary data imposed from outside, i.e., the tradition of material his word will convey and eventually the literary category (genre) in which he will bring it to expression.

With regard to the biblical creation pericope, where a significant creative process has been at work in the production of the text, it seems evident that whether the material belongs to the Israelite genius or whether it comes from outside, the author in fact used it rather

than simply transmitted it. This manifestation of his independence invites great caution as we come to consider the way he related to the given material. The latter must be indicated under the control of the creativity and not the reverse. In other words, the process of the literary composition is to be established only after one has perceived the intentionality as reflected in the literary structure.

Actually the problem of the literary composition with regard to the biblical creation pericope is articulated mainly around three issues¹ which mark in fact the three stages of the literary production.

The first has to do with the Documentary hypothesis and is concerned with the sources or strata which have been "traditionally" discerned in the two pericopes C and C'.

The second is concentrated on C itself and has to do with the traditions which have been perceived behind it as composing the final text we have.

The third is concerned more specifically with the literary genre² in which the author has finally incarnated

¹For the question of the literary import from outside, see our section "The Extra-Biblical Tradition," especially supra pp. 129-32.

²By "literary genre" we mean just the form on the surface level by comparison with other forms, without any concern for the Sitz im Leben, yet being aware that the nature of the message is often closely dependent on the form in which it is transmitted. This classification has nothing to do with the Gattungen of the Formgeschichte-

the material he may have received from the sources and traditions.

We shall approach these issues in the light of the data provided by the literary structure, evaluating to what extent the basic systems proposed by modern biblical scholarship are to be reconsidered.

schule and is confined to the literary aspect of the text to the extent it appears to be "classical," i.e., obeying a stylistic rule which happens also to be used elsewhere, implying a methodology which has been described by Tsvetan Todorov as such: "When we examine works of literature from the perspective of genre, we engage in a very particular enterprise: we discover a principle operative in a number of texts [emphasis supplied] rather what is specific about each of them" (The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre [Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973], p. 3). This aspect has been particularly emphasized by Marie-Joseph Lagrange, "L'inspiration et les exigences de la critique," RB 5 (1896):496-518, see especially pp. 510-11.

CHAPTER IV

THE CREATION STORY IN THE
DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS
(C AND C')

The literary connection between C and C', which has been revealed by our analysis, leads ultimately to a reconsideration of the hypothesis which started precisely upon the basis of their alleged essential difference. A complete history of this hypothesis would go beyond the scope of our study. We shall confine ourselves to pointing out the principal steps which marked its maturation by reference to their most representative spokesmen.

One of the earliest persons to identify two sources (A and B) in the Pentateuch was the French physician Jean Astruc.¹ He reached this conclusion from the observation of the non-interchangeable use of the divine

¹Conjectures. For a history of this hypothesis, see among others Umberto Cassuto, The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), pp. 9-14; Moses H. Segal, The Pentateuch: Its Composition and Its Authorship and Other Biblical Studies (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), pp. 1-2; cf. Otto Kaiser, Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of Its Results and Problems (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1975), pp. 36-41; cf. Cazelles, Introduction critique à l'Ancien Testament, pp. 119-32.

YHWH and Elohim which he noticed especially in Gen 1 and 2.

A little later, Eichhorn gave to the views of Astruc a scholarly form. He divided Gen and Exod 1 and 2 into the two sources designated J and E, arguing also that they had been edited by a third unknown redactor.¹

Then, in the next century, the hypothesis was first expanded by Graf, who held that the levitical legislation (known as P by modern scholars) was later than Deuteronomy, i.e., the exilic period, and set the basis of the chronological sequence JEDP.² His conclusions were largely supported by the works of Kuenen.³

Wellhausen⁴ was the one who finally brought this hypothesis to its highest point and more precisely identified and dated each source. J was dated about 850 B.C. and came from religious circles in the southern kingdom. E came from the northern kingdom about 750 B.C. Then the two were combined by an unknown redactor (R^{JE}) about 650 B.C. Deuteronomy was regarded as a product of the period

¹Eichhorn, 2:295-314.

²Karl H. Graf, Die sogenannte Grundschrift des Pentateuch, Archiv für wiss. Erforschung des Alten Testaments (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1869), pp. 466-77.

³Abraham Kuenen, An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886), pp. 164-73.

⁴Julius Wellhausen, Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments, 4th ed. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1963), especially pp. 186-208.

of Josiah, 621 B.C. and was also edited by another editor (R^D) about 530 B.C. P was compiled by priestly authors in 450 B.C. and added to the already existent material JED to produce JEDP by about 400 B.C.

Thus the whole Pentateuch in its external form appeared about 200 B.C. It is to be noticed that the establishment of the boundaries of these sources was essentially performed upon the basis of literary criteria such as the variation of divine names, lexical, grammatical, syntactical and stylistic differences.

However, it began to be more and more apparent that these criteria were not so absolute and did not always work as well as was expected. Gunkel described the sources as

Sammlungen, die nicht aus einem Gusse sind und nicht mit einem Male fertig gewesen sein können, sondern die im Laufe einer Geschichte entstanden sind.¹

J and E, for instance, were not specific authors but merely "Erzählerschulen."²

Hugo Gressmann also sensed the artificiality of such "labels that can be changed at will."³

¹Gunkel, Genesis, p. lxxxiv.

²Ibid., p. lxxxv.

³Mose und seine Zeit: Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments NF 1 [18] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), p. 368. On the other hand, he emphasized in 1924 that "es heute keine Wissenschaft vom AT gibt, die nicht auf der Grundlage der quellenkritischen Ergebnisse des Hexateuchs beruht. Was wir als kostbares Erbe über-

So the landmarks of the sources and strata become more and more flexible and, therefore, nowadays are more and more discussed.

Von Rad proposed a criterion essentially based on theological principles which assumes the literary variety of different sources.¹ In fact, his system paid little attention to the sources as such; those have been unified and edited according to theological principles.

Noth² adapted von Rad's basic thesis. Yet he did not follow him in the delimitations of the boundaries; for instance, he allowed the Yahwist editor a much smaller part in the composition of the Pentateuch. Here also the criteria were subjective since they were essentially of a theological order, and no consistent literary control was provided to secure the right drawing.

In the same line of thought, following the two theologians, the next significant discussion of this

nommen haben, werden wir so lange pietätvoll hüten, bis es als Irrwahn erwiesen ist. Wer die Quellenkritik und ihre Ergebnisse nicht anerkennen will, hat die Pflicht, die ganze bisherige Forschung als Sisyphusarbeit aufzuzeigen, wenn er als wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter gewertet werden will" (idem, "Die Aufgaben der alttestamentlichen Forschung," ZAW 42 [NF 1] [1924]:2). Cf. against this the critic of André Lacocque, Le Devenir de Dieu, Encyclopédie Universitaire [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967], p. 97.

¹Essentially in his chapter "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," pp. 1-78.

²See especially A History of Pentateuchal Traditions (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), especially pp. 228-55.

question has been raised recently by Rendtorff.¹ Although the latter is aware of the weaknesses of his predecessor's methodologies which he denounces, he himself does not escape falling into the same basic mistake, also looking for a theological criterion.²

It is clear that current interest is centered in the theological formation of the material in the Pentateuch. This interest is undoubtedly justified, but we must look for better and more

¹In the meantime, however, several scholars had again raised serious doubts regarding the validity of the theory, and as Frederick V. Winnett puts it, have become aware that there is here "need of careful re-examination" ("Re-examining the Foundations," *JBL* 84 [1965]:19). Thus the stylistic and linguistic criteria which have been used in the distinction of the sources, have been reconsidered. For the criterion of the variation of divine names, see Cyrus H. Gordon, who argues in the same way upon the basis of Ugaritic evidences (see Ugaritic Literature: A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Texts [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949], p. 6). Cf. André Lacocque, "Les noms divins et la théorie des sources dans l'Ancien Testament," Veritatem in Caritate (Bruxelles, 1957-58):96. Cf. also Cassuto, Documentary Hypothesis; Harrison, pp. 516-20; Edmond Jacob, L'Ancien Testament, p. 36; Westermann, Genesis, pp. 767-70. For the criterion of the vocabulary, see especially Segal, pp. 14-18. For the subjectivity of the criterion of style, see Harrison, pp. 526-27; Segal, pp. 18-19; Morris Seale, "The Glosses in the Book of Genesis and the JE Theory: An Attempt of a New Solution," ExpTim 67 (1955-56): 333-35. The latter justifies the necessity of the variegated style in the Pentateuch by the fact that the author is writing for a people who are themselves "a great mixture" (*ibid.*, p. 333). See also Westermann, Genesis, pp. 765-67, 770-75.

²Westermann assumes the importance of the theological variation between the sources: "Der wichtigste Unterschied zwischen J und P wurde darin gesehen, dass sie eine ganz verschiedene Theologie und Weltsicht haben" (Genesis, p. 775). Yet he recognizes also the relativity of this criterion: "Aber auch dieses Argument kann eine absolute Geltung nicht mehr beanspruchen" (*ibid.*, p. 775). On the theological criterion, see also Segal, pp. 19-20.

appropriate ways to deal with the questions that are thereby raised.¹

Thus dealing with the source documents or strata and assuming their variety, Rendtorff agrees ultimately with von Rad that one "must look for their theological purpose in the editing of this material."² As a matter of fact, he brings out another theological purpose of editing, namely, the "divine promise speeches."³ He is then led to draw new delimitations. Observing that this motif is prominent in the patriarchal stories while it is absent in the story of the Exodus from Egypt, which "is not represented as a return to the land of the patriarchs,"⁴ Rendtorff concludes that they could not belong to the same theological edition, i.e., Yahwist,⁵ and there-

¹Rolf Rendtorff, "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," JSOT 3 (1977):5. Cf. also idem, Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch, BZAW 147 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1977), pp. 80-115.

²Idem, "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 6. Under the influence mainly of Claus Westermann to whom Rendtorff subscribes totally (ibid., p. 6; cf. Claus Westermann, "Arten der Erzählung in der Genesis," in Forschung am Alten Testament: Gesammelte Studien, Theol. Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrh. 24, Altes Testament [Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1964], pp. 9-91).

⁴"The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," p. 9.

⁵In fact the principle of sources is not questioned here. Rendtorff deals just with the problem of the criterion of distinction. And ultimately his view might even lead to a more diversified multiplication of the sources which have become in his perspective "theo-

fore that such an editor is nothing but an abstraction. "There is no such person."¹ In fact, Rendtorff is looking for new criteria for the delimitation. Yet because of the fact that his criterion is once again basically theological, there is the fear that it will also be subjective. Even the concept of promises itself is not clear and not quite distinct. The criterion with which it is determined is not sure and how can we shall then expect that here also the delimitations will be certain? Indeed, this is already undertaken by Norman E. Wagner, who postulates additional promises,² and John Van Seters, who denies the pre-literary origin of the promises.³

Rendtorff himself is aware of the relativity of his criteria. He recognizes that the promise speeches are only one element in the theological editing and should not be applied to the whole Pentateuch.⁴

It is inevitable that several questions arise with

logical redactions" after the word of George W. Coats ("The Yahwist as Theologian? A Critical Reflection," JSOT 3 [1977]:32).

¹Rendtorff, "The 'Yahwist as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," p. 10.

²Norman E. Wagner, "A Response to Professor Rolf Rendtorff," JOST 3 (1977):22.

³"None of the stories are 'promise' stories except where they have been made such by the addition of the promise theme" (John Van Seters, "The Yahwist as Theologian? A Response," JSOT 3 [1977]:16).

⁴"The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," p. 8.

regard to the methodology of Rendtorff. Is the repetition of an idea a sufficient datum from which to infer that the gathering of the literary material which brings it up has been performed on account of a theological concern? Is the repetition of an idea a sufficient criterion for unity? Could not two different editions bring up the same idea, or conversely one editor bring up two opposite ideas? Was theological consistency indeed the basis of their works? And the ultimate question: Was there indeed any theological purpose in the editing of this material? Roger N. Whybray in his response to Rendtorff asks, "Why did the final redactor not smooth out the theological roughness and inconsistencies of the earlier theologies?"¹ So far these questions remain unanswered in Rendtorff's system.

Indeed, the fact that there is real difficulty in any attempt to distinguish and to define sources or traditions, whether we take into account literary criteria or theological principles, seems to indicate that those criteria are insufficient and that the process of editing might have been performed under other perspectives.

As a matter of fact, the phenomenon of the two creation pericopes as they have come to us in their literary structure, is really a significant illustration of this observation. These are the samples par excellence

¹Roger N. Whybray, "Response to Professor Rendtorff," JSOT 3 (1977):12.

which might be most closely distinguished from each other on the basis of literary criteria, i.e., they systematically bring different names of God and regularly have different stylistic features,¹ as well as on the basis of theological criteria, i.e., they express a different and even totally opposite view of God and of his creative activity, manifesting two different theological perspectives. And indeed the difference was so manifest that from it the idea of sources has sprung up.²

It is also noteworthy that the frequent disagreement with regard to the delimitations of the sources, and thereby the discussion which followed,³ never affected these literary pieces. And even Rendtorff, who is so opposed to the traditional Documentary sources, assumes the distinction between the two creation pericopes. In fact, his doubts with regard to the distinction between the sources are confined to J and E. But he will not

¹As Norman C. Habel puts it: "Differences in style between Genesis 1 and most of Genesis 2 are immediately apparent" (Literary Criticism of the Old Testament, GBS.OT [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971], p. 19). Cf. von Rad: "In language as well as in their whole inner nature and world of ideas they are as different as can be conceived" (Old Testament Theology, 1:140). Cf. P. E. S. Thompson: "In the account of Creation two divergent and incompatible narratives have been placed side by side" ("The Yahwist Creation Story," VT 21 [1971]:199).

²See Cassuto, Documentary Hypothesis, p. 14.

³Pointing specifically to the scholarly discussions regarding the delimitations of the two J sources, Winnett notices that the theory "has come under suspicion . . . because its proponents have not been able to agree among them" ("Re-examining the Foundations," p. 2).

deny the distinction between P and the texts which belong to the pre-priestly stages (J, E). For him then the two creation pericopes still belong to two different sources.¹

This unanimity is significant. It is quite impossible in any literary material to draw a sure and definitive line of demarcation. Language by its nature is too alive to yield spontaneously to such a clear delimitation. Therefore, such a perfect distinctiveness should be considered as suspect. If the boundary between the two creation pericopes was so clearly marked, was it not because of the artificial and the intentional aspects of the composition? In other words, the systematism of the difference between the two accounts would paradoxically point rather to a single author than to two different sources. And in fact our literary analysis has revealed significant correspondences between the two pericopes. Thus if the differences between them have led to the assumption that they must belong at least to two different sources, the establishment of their stylistic connection, which by the way swallows even the differences in terms of a symmetric correspondence, must lead to an opposite conclusion, namely, that they should on the contrary be understood as belonging to the same source.

Furthermore, the fact that the two texts belong to this same process of writing; the parallelism, which

¹See Rendtorff, "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian? The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," p. 9.

implies indeed a reciprocal relationship between them on the level of the composition--C must have been composed in account of C' and conversely--and on the other hand, that this very correspondence on the conscious and intentional level¹ recurs on the level of the signified, betray

¹Preceding research, which dealt precisely with the problem of the connection between the conscious signified (content) and the unconscious signifier (internal linguistic structure)--at least with regard to the sequential movement of the action which is involved in the texts--in biblical Hebrew, has drawn our attention along the way to a possible correspondence of this order between the two creation pericopes (see Doukhan, "L'Hébreu en Vie," pp. 199-240). And indeed a mere cross-section into the linguistic "structure" of both texts seems to confirm this connection: the phenomenon is striking as we observe the general figure of the usage of the verb in these pericopes, methodology somehow related to the so-called "stylostatistics." See Charles Bruneau, L'Epoque Réaliste, vol. 13 of Historie de la langue française des origines à nos jours, ed. Ferdinand Brunot, new ed. (Paris: A. Colin, 1968), pt. 1, pp. 103-4; 185, n. 1; Théodore Aron, "Racine, Corneille, Pradon: Remarques sur le vocabulaire de la tragédie classique," Cahiers de Lexicologie 11 (1967):57-74. On this problem, see also Rebecca R. Posner, "The Use and Abuse of Stylistic Statistics," Archivum Linguisticum 14 (1963):111-39, and Seymour B. Chatman, "Stylistics: Quantitative and Qualitative," Style 1 (1967):29-43. For its implications in biblical studies, see particularly Ronald E. Bee, "The Mode of Composition and Statistical Scansion," JSOT 6 (1978):58-68, and Ferdinand Deist, pp. 325-57, specifically for the creation pericopes. We may notice here three significant trends:

1. Both pericopes contain the same proportion of verbs (in C 110 verbs out of 494 words, and in C' 58 verbs out of 295 words, i.e., 1 verb for 5 words). That reveals a striking and related dynamism in both pericopes (see Georges Galichet, Méthodologie grammaticale: Etudes psychologique des structures, 2d ed. [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963], p. 138). On the other hand, in spite of a greater number of verbal usages in C, the number of different verbs is greater in C' (in C the 110 occurrences are from only 27 verbs while in C' we count 58 occurrences from 33 verbs). The imagery points, therefore, at the same time to a much more regular and "monoto-

nous" action in C, while it shows a diversified and irregular action in C'.

2. Both pericôpes contain the same proportion of imperfect and perfect forms (in C 70 imperfects and 15 perfects, and in C' 35 imperfects and 8 perfects, i.e., 1 perfect for 4 imperfects in both records). That means that they are equally concerned with the same nature of action or intensity, implying thereby a single object of application (see Paul Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, éd. photomécanique corrigée [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965], pp. 290-91; Lambert, pp. 238-41, and for an extensive treatment of the question, see also Marcel Cohen, *Le système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps*, Publication de l'école des langues orientales vivantes 5, 11 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1924).

3. On the syntactic level, i.e., the position of the verb with regard to its subject, the situation is quite different: the proportion of verbs preceding the subject is markedly stronger in C than in C' (in C 58 occurrences where the verb precedes the subject, against 17 conversely; in C' 19 occurrences where the verb precedes the subject against 12 where it follows it). That betrays a more spontaneous action, more free, more calm in C than in C' where the flow of the action is more diversified and more irregular.

Thus on one hand C and C' reflect "essentially" the action in its dynamism and intensity, and on the other hand, they describe it in an opposite yet symmetrical way: regular, uniform in C; irregular, diversified in C'. This picture not only significantly recalls the correspondences which have been noticed on the level of the literary structure, i.e., in terms of rhythm, of themes, and of contrast, but it is also in perfect agreement with the correspondence which has been noticed on the level of the signified, i.e., a single concern with the creation event yet expressed in two complementary symmetrical ways: in terms of universality and transcendence in C, and in terms of relationship and immanence in C'.

In other words, what we have found on the conscious level as it is expressed in the literary structure would recur on the unconscious level as it comes into expression at least within the limits of the usage of the verbs, inviting thereby further investigation in this direction, the treatment of which would go far beyond the scope of our study.

But the sample is sufficient to show that the parole on the level of the literary structure and of the signified has significant resonances on the level of the unconscious process of writing, that it is echoed also there, which is one more indication of the profound unity of the pericopes between and within them.

a single creative operation which would imply a common authorship for the two pericopes.

The question now arises whether these stylistic patterns we noticed in C and C', which happened to be intentional, might be applied to the whole Pentateuch in order to draw correspondent theological inferences. We must indeed assume that the texts where the names YHWH or Elohim are used do not reveal a systematic and clear theological design in agreement with the name of God occurring there. And we find texts expressing the same theological content with different names of God, and conversely texts expressing different theological contents with the same name of God.¹ In other words, the principle we find in Gen 1-2 would hardly be applicable as a systematic rule for the whole Pentateuch. However, the striking coincidence of the divine names with the content and the expression in our two pericopes attests at least the existence of an association: name of God/theological idea/form. This mere fact must be borne in mind, for the awareness of this possible connection might be helpful in

¹See Cassuto, Documentary Hypothesis, pp. 15-16. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the book of Psalms where the same text which uses YHWH (Ps 14) recurs with Elohim (Ps 53); on the other hand the Psalms which use the same name of God do not reveal a common content (compare the so-called Yahwist and Elohist parts of the book of Psalms). Yet we have noticed that certain Psalms which refer to the two creation pericopes distinguish the usage of the divine names with regard to a specific theological concern (cf. *supra* pp. 99-100 and 87-88).

some exegetical investigation.¹ But this must not lead us to the same mistake we denounced previously, namely, to extend one more system out of a particular observation.

Our conclusion therefore, will, be formulated with caution. If the idea of the Documentary hypothesis has started with the observation of the two creation pericopes, we shall not hasten to conclude from our analysis of these texts for the total inexistence of sources in the rest of the Pentateuch. However, we must admit that they are seriously questioned.

¹Such as when we deal with the question of the revelation of the name of God in Exod 6:2, 3 which seems to refer to a theological meaning (see Cassuto, A Commentary on the Book of Exodus, 1st Eng. ed. [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967], p. 37; Martin Buber, Moses the Revelation and the Covenant, [London: Horovitz, 1946; reprint ed., New York: Harper & Bros., 1958], pp. 48-55; Lacocque, Le Devenir de Dieu, pp. 95-106; Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, p. 50; J. A. Motyer, The Revelation of the Divine Name [London: Tyndale Press, 1959].

CHAPTER V

THE SOURCES OF THE CREATION STORY C

The idea of sources composing the creation pericope C is undoubtedly somehow indebted to the Documentary hypothesis.¹ Thus it is significant that it came out of the literary distinction between Gen 1:1-2:4a and 2:4b-25 which was defended by this school.

Karl F. R. Budde² for instance was one of the first³ who saw the biblical creation pericope C as being a combination between the material of C' writers and the one of the later C priestly authors, the latter having been worked up on the basis of the former.

Following him, Friedrich Schwally⁴ proposed the

¹Hermann Gunkel was less concerned with the question of the literary sources of the text than of the myth itself, which he thought originated in Babylonian mythology (see The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History [New York: Schocken Books, 1964], pp. 129-30. As for Ilgen, he dealt mainly with questions of textual glosses and changes rather than with those of sources and versions (see Die Urkunden des Jerusalemlischen Tempelarchivs).

²Die Biblische Urgeschichte: Gen. 1-12,5 (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1883), quoted in Morgenstern, p. 170.

³See also Bernhard Stade, Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments, Grundriss der theol. Wissenschaften 2, 2, 2 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905), p. 349.

⁴"Die biblischen Schöpfungsberichte," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 9 (1906):159-75.

hypothesis that C was in fact a literary fusion of two originally independent and even contradictory versions that he discerned in the text itself. One expressed the creation of the universe by the word of God, while the other pointed to specific creatures including man, which were made by the hands of God. The latter were then in the same vein as C'.

Upon this basis Julian Morgenstern worked, drawing up the two versions which he called respectively the "making-Sabbath" version and a "divine fiat" version, the latter pointed out as the original one.¹ His presupposition was that the two conceptions, namely creation by word and creation by making, were "theologically too divergent and contradictory to be held by one single writer, or even one group or school of writers."²

Finally, the hypothesis has been taken over by

¹Morgenstern, p. 180. The author infers the secondary character of this "making-Sabbath" version mainly from the presupposition that the Sabbath has come in Israel as a later practice (see *ibid.*, pp. 175-79).

²*Ibid.*, p. 171. It escaped this author because in Hebrew thought the two concepts belong in fact to one. It is enough here to refer to the word עָשָׂה which means both the thing (what is made) and the word (cf. André Neher, *The Prophetic Existence* [South Brunswick, N.J.: A. S. Barnes, 1969], p. 115). We may also notice that this association of thought which has the thing coming as a result of the word is attested outside of the Bible, especially in the Ugaritic poem of *Keret*, as Henri Cazelles points out in his article "Pentateuque: Histoire Sacerdotale," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1966), 7:835. Thus the discrepancy for the occidental mind did not apparently exist for the Semitic one.

Gerhard von Rad¹ who divided C along with the rest of the priestly document into two sources, namely, the Action-version (A = Tatbericht) and the Word-version (B = Befehlsbericht), the latter having been added to the former. Yet important inconsistencies are noticed in the system of von Rad. He assumes, for instance, a mingling of the two versions with regard to the use of the verbs עָשָׂה and בָּרָא. Thus the עָשָׂה of v. 26 is attributed to the Word-version.² On the other hand, he sees in the section of the first day which is attributed to the Befehlsbericht, the formula "and saw" which should belong to the Tatbericht. Von Rad explains the latter phenomenon by means of a redactional addition, under the pressure of the system.³

These inconsistencies called forth some reactions. Paul Humbert⁴ rejects the whole system of von Rad, arguing essentially by reference to other biblical texts⁵

¹Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch, BWANT 13 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934), pp. 11-18 and 167-71. Von Rad has been followed especially by Noth, History of Pentateuchal Traditions, p. 10, n. 21, and also by Otto Procksch, Theologie des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1950), pp. 488-89.

²Cf. also Herbert G. May for whom the "divine-fiat" is a reinterpretation of the "Act-version" and who perceives in the formula "let us make man" of 1:25 a fusion of both themes (p. 205).

³Priesterschrift, p. 14, n. 18.

⁴"Die literarische Zweiheit des Priester-Codex in der Genesis," ZAW 58-59 (1940-43):30-57.

⁵Judg 6:38; 2 Kgs 7:20; 15:12 (see *ibid.*, p. 31).

for the unity of the two concepts and also showing that in the Befehlsbericht of von Rad there are other elements which may belong to the Tatbericht, such as the "göttliche Tat wayyabdel."¹

On the other hand, the same system has been taken over by Schmidt,² who notes that "die literarkritische Arbeit an Gen 1 scheint in eine Sackgasse geraten zu sein,"³ but takes von Rad's proposal as a starting point for a much more extended and detailed study than his predecessors.

Following Schmidt, the hypothesis has received a new impulse more recently in the work of Paul Beauchamp.⁴

¹"Die literarische Zweiheit," p. 30.

²Schöpfungsgeschichte, pp. 17-20, 110-17.

³Ibid., p. 17.

⁴Création et Séparation, pp. 37, 76-123. Following Beauchamp (cf. supra p. 11) Monsengwo Pasinya has elaborated two slightly different versions with regard to the formulae "God said and it was"/"God said and he did" (pp. 234-38). Yet most of the texts upon which he bases his argument would attest instead a unique tradition which associates the two concepts Word-Action/Word-Accomplishment. Cf. Num 23:19 where the two concepts are associated by the parallelism (cf. also Ps 33:9; 105:31, 34; 148:5b-6a and Lam 3:37). See on this point the refutation of Humbert, "Die literarische Zweiheit," pp. 30-31.

It is, moreover, significant that Ps 105:31-34, which refers to the coming of the flies and locusts, is as Monsengwo Pasinya puts it "une systématisation théologique," since in the original version of these pleas in Exodus it is not directly the word of God which brings the flies, but an action of Moses and Aaron following a command from God. Thus the scheme Word (of God)/Action (of Moses) of Exodus has then become Word/Accomplishment in Psalms, the וַיִּבְרָא being a variant of וַיֵּהֱי as assumed by Monsengwo Pasinya (the same process is found in Ps 147:18). This shows at least the close connection between the two

It is instructive here that the analyses of Schmidt and Beauchamp have been mainly elaborated upon the basis of stylistic observations of C with regard to Ps 136:7-9. From this comparison it has been inferred that this Psalm contained the germs of C.

Thus the process of growth of C has been reconstructed in the following way: from creation by making in the Psalm, the author has come to creation by the word. The Wortbericht has been formed as a reflection, as a reversed picture, "spiegelbildlich,"¹ of the Tatbericht and was accordingly produced after it.²

Thus, it is suggested that one can imagine the development and the enrichment from this nucleus, first in the fourth day wherein the sun and the moon have become the luminaries and received their finality, unto the extremities of the week, namely, the first day and the Sabbath.

We do not want to go into a discussion of the details of this reconstruction. What is of interest to us

concepts: they belong in fact to the same order of thought. Indeed if the cadre of the heptameron is ליאמר-ליהי-ליעש -- he said/it was/he did--as concludes Monsengwo Pasinya, it follows that it is not a fusion of two different periods of history, but rather it has been composed according to a stylistic concern (on this point see Westermann, Genesis Accounts, pp. 7-8, and Sean E. McEvenue, The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer, Analecta Biblica 50 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971], p. 17).

¹Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 146, n. 3.

²See Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 105, against Morgenstern.

describes a concentric development from the center¹ from day four out of the Tatbericht in Ps 136 to the periphery, as Beauchamp puts it:

Cette reconstruction . . . valorise le centre et la périphérie de la structure, centre traditionnel et périphérie interprétative.²

The question which arises now is to know to what extent this process of reconstruction, as well as the principle of the two versions with regard to the biblical creation pericope C, are affected by its literary structure as it has been depicted in relationship to C'.

We must first of all observe that the reconstruction performed on the basis of the confrontation between C and the Psalm describes a totally different way from what we had discerned on the basis of the relationship between C and C'. Here, on the contrary, the composition process is lateral. The literary correspondence between C and C' shows indeed that as C was composed the presence of C' was already implicit. In other words, C has been composed in relationship to C' which was already in the state of having been conceived. The choice of words and the organization of the motifs had to obey this principle of composition, i.e., the lateral parallelism. Indeed, the shaping of a parallelism requires in the mind of the author at least the awareness of the second member of the

¹The "Mittwoch"; cf. *ibid.*, p. 92.

²*Ibid.*, p. 98.

parallelism. Now if this is the case, we can say that the motif of להבדיל ("to separate"), which has been placed by the Tatbericht hypothesis at the second step of the composition as an explicative development of the former, namely, the great lights, has in fact to be placed at the first step of the composition. For the motif of separation is the one which in reality constitutes the link to the fourth section of C'¹: the separation between light and darkness is in parallelism with the separation between the tree of the knowledge of good and evil² and the other trees. And since the correspondence between C and C' stands in the very first stage of the composition, the conception of the separation motif is then in C chronologically preceded by the motif of the luminaries. This is to be seen a hint to the anteriority of the first section with regard to the fourth one in the literary conception, for the first section already dealt with the motif of separation between light and darkness, and by means of the same stylistic expression: הבדל בין האור ובין החשך.

¹Cf. suprap. 43. The climax of the text lies therefore in this verb and that is why it must be used in infinitive, to cast into relief the ultimate purpose of the creation of the luminaries, and has therefore not to be emendated into a conjugated form as Morgenstern does (p. 184). Moreover the mention of stars as an appendix in v. 16, and their absence in v. 17, instead of being interpreted as an interpolation (see Morgenstern, p. 186) might rather express the very concern to not disturb this stylistic principle.

²The reference to this tree itself already points to the motif of distinction: good and evil.

Moreover, the fact that the fourth section takes over the expression of the first section,¹ shows that it situates itself on the same level as it and in the extension of it, i.e., as an echo of it, hence after it.² At any rate, the Tatbericht is an insufficient unity, as Beauchamp notices, in the sense that its application does not work for the totality of the material of the heptameron.³ Indeed the fourth section, dealing with the luminaries, points only to the creation of light of the first day. According to Beauchamp the only element which is able to encompass all the "making" is the Sabbath, for the latter theme implies a series of actions (makings).⁴ The hypothesis of Beauchamp is then that the Sabbath, i.e., the seventh day and not the fourth day, should have generated all the other sections.⁵ In other words, the creation pericope C would have come out of the present reality of the Sabbath--as a mere justification to it. However, we cannot infer a sure exegetical conclusion regarding the subtle and complex

¹v. 5. Cf. vv. 14 and 18.

²Beauchamp has also perceived this literary connection, since he points out: "La profonde pénétration du Wortbericht dans les deux versants du récit du quatrième jour est un des indices qui suggèrent que l'élaboration de la version parole et l'insertion de cette journée ne forment qu'un seul et même acte, qui rejoint la rédaction du jour I" (Création et Séparation, p. 101).

³Ibid., p. 104.

⁴See Morgenstern, p. 175.

⁵Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 104.

mechanism of the genetics of the text upon the mere basis of the "written" reality of the text. If we, however, look at the text which deals with the Sabbath, i.e., the seventh section, we observe that the only significant echo of this text, in the passage which precedes, is found in the introduction of C.¹ It is interesting to notice here that the last section is symmetrically framed by the material of the first sentence of the heptameron in reverse order:

ברא אלהים / את השמים ואח והארץ
 (ויכלו) השמים והארץ ברא אלהים (לעשות)

It is significant that this association of the same expression never recurs elsewhere throughout C, showing that the two passages refer to each other.

The significance of the frame is, moreover, strengthened by the symmetrical use of one word at each extremity of the seventh section: ויכלו-לעשות.² We may

¹Cf. Beauchamp, supra p. 158, n. 2.

²It is interesting to notice that the association of the two words recurs in the Hebrew Bible only with regard to the termination of the construction of the temple by Solomon (see 2 Chr 4:11; 7:11), which is said to have been achieved in the seventh year (1 Kgs 6:38). We may also observe in the same way that the expression ויכל מלאכה of Gen 2:2, 3 recurs only with regard to the termination of the sanctuary by Moses (see Exod 40:33). Would this coincidence not betray a certain connection between the creation by the bias of the Sabbath, and the sanctuary, as is already suggested in Exod 31 and 35 where the two are associated? (Cf. the study of Kearny, p. 384; cf. supra pp. 80-81).

here recall that the use of these latter words is justified by the parallelism with C', which requires the same repetitive pattern: ויכל (twice) and that of עשה (three times).¹

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that each stich of the Sabbath section closes with the same pattern of expression and ends with the same word עשה; and this stylistic procedure not only makes necessary the use of עשה at the end of this last stich, but incidentally explains the particular redundancy of ברא לעשות.²

At the same time the fact that ויכל is organically connected with the rest of the passage by the necessity of the repetitive pattern which has to correspond to C', does not yield any room to any dissociation: ויכל (divine fiat version) and ויכל (making version).

Now since the first sentence emerges organically in the "word" (ויאמר) sign that it pertains to the "divine fiat" version, the Sabbath section which is stylistically connected to the latter must, therefore, belong to the same version.

Furthermore, since the text happens to have been built according to the stylistic pattern of genealogy³

¹Cf. supra p. 41.

²It is, therefore, not to be explained as a marginal gloss having crept into the text, on account of the fact that "no intelligent person would think, much less write in any language in this manner" (see Morgenstern, p. 173, n. 5). We are on a stylistic level, not on a logical one.

³See infra pp. 171-77.

implying the same use of a regular formula as introduction and as conclusion, it follows that ויהי ערב ויהי ויאמר and . . . בקר יום, which belong to the same stylistic concern, must also belong to the same version.¹

On the other hand, the fact that the material of the first section recurs in the seventh section, dissociated in such an artificial manner, while it constitutes a natural united sentence in the first section, may indicate that it is rather the seventh which echoes the first and not the reverse. We have then, once more, significant reasons to think that the conception of the first section has indeed preceded the seventh one.

But the anteriority of the first section over the others was already discernible in the parallelism of the two accounts of creation. It is significant that the strongest correspondence in terms of motifs and of structure is found in the first section.

Now since the composition process of C has evolved in a lateral way in relationship to C', and since the closest stylistic situation is to be found in the first

¹Against Morgenstern, p. 176, who dissociates and puts the ויאמר in the "divine-fiat" version and ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום in the secondary, "making-Sabbath" version. As for the expression "evening and morning" that Morgenstern identifies as an exilic one under Babylonian influence (cf. also Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel, vol. 1: Social Institutions [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965], pp. 180, 181), its use is indeed already attested before the exile (cf. 1 Sam 25:16) and cannot thereby be used as an argument for an exilic origin of C (cf. Siegfried S. J. Schwantes, "Did the Israelites Ever Reckon the Day from Morning to Morning?" The Ministry 50 [1977]:36-39).

section,¹ it follows that the process of the correspondence should have started there. The account has then not been conditioned by an actual situation or datum--the keeping of the Sabbath or the experience of the sun and of the moon--being thus generated by them according to the etiological principle. It has not been issued from the given eventually contained in one or several of the following steps which came chronologically after in the composing--, it has come, so to speak, out of nothing, pointing thereby to the absolute creativity of the author.

Furthermore, the fact that there are strong reasons why C' has been projected into the literary reality after C,² confirms the idea of a common source for C and C'. A simple explanation will make it clear. The way C has been composed, namely after a lateral process of writing, reveals that C' was already at least implicitly in existence as the author was writing his text. And since the latter did not yet actually exist as C was written, it follows that C and C' must have originated in the same mind.

To conclude, the literary structure of C does not seem to have any room for the reconstruction implying a concentric process of writing. Instead it points to a lateral composition. From the particular requirement for creativity which this mode of composition demanded, it

¹
Cf. supra p. 61.

²Cf. infra p. 178.

follows that the text as it is actually attested could hardly be considered as the result of the combination of different sources. It seems to be original. At any rate, the literary structure of C does not provide any room for the Tat- und Wortbericht hypothesis; instead it attests a particularly strong unity of the text.¹

¹It is significant that along the way of their investigation, Schmidt as well as Beauchamp have assumed the difficulty of the distinction of the two sources and more than once assumed the artificiality of the operation.

Thus Schmidt has noted, for instance: "Wort- und Tatbericht von V 11 und 12 weisen nur kleine Abweichungen auf" (Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 106); or: "Die geringen Unterschiede von Wort- (V 24) und Tatbericht (V 25) bieten kaum Anhaltspunkte für einen Vergleich" (ibid., p. 125).

Also Beauchamp remarked: "Pour le deuxième jour, Wortbericht et Tatbericht sont structurellement bien symétriques 'que soit/que sépare' pour 'et fit/et sépara.' Une fois mis à part la divergence dans la description des eaux, déjà mentionnée, il ne reste plus de prise à un critère stylistique pour décider quel est l'élément traditionnel" (Création et Séparation, p. 108). And Beauchamp doubts the hypothesis of a continual Tatbericht (ibid., p. 109) and concludes: "Nous écartons donc une solution aussi tranchée, aboutissant à reconstruire le texte, rangée par rangée, en deux étages: tradition et interprétation" (ibid., p. 111). Cf. also Monsengwo Pasinya who ultimately argues for the unity of the text, at least with regard to the "fulfillment-execution" formula: "Le fait que dans l'heptaméron nous trouvions sept formes d'accomplissement (sur huit oeuvres) et sept formules (actes) d'exécution (sur huit oeuvres) semble relever de la rédaction et confirmer l'opinion de P. Humbert selon laquelle la formule d'accomplissement appelle l'exécution" (p. 235).

It is also noteworthy that Odil Hannes Steck who has gone into a systematic study of the important formulas used generally as argument for the Wort- und Tatbericht theory (see especially his treatment of וַיִּהְיֶה כֵן in Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift: Studien zur literarkritischen und Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Problematik von Genesis 1,1-2,4a, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975], pp. 32-61) has been led to the conclusion of the very artificiality of the dissociation and hence to a repudiation of "eine isolierbare Überlieferungsschicht in Gen 1" (ibid., p. 246).

CHAPTER VI

THE LITERARY GENRE OF C

It is interesting to note that in the history of the literary concern to classify and label the category of C, one has felt the need to situate it with regard to C'. Significantly enough the nature of the connection between C and C' and the stylistic distinction between them has never been settled. So what was considered as being specific of C by some, was perceived by others as constituting characteristics of C'.

Thus in the second volume of his Introduction to the Old Testament, Eichhorn, contrasting the two accounts of creation, remarks:

Sodann liegt auch beym ersten Kapitel ein künstlich entworfenener Plan zum Grunde, der mit vieler Kunst durch alle Theile durch geführt ist, und zum voraus jeder Idee ihre gehörige Stelle bestimmt. Hingegen beym vierten Vers des zweiten fällt die Erzählung in den Kinderton voll edler Einfalt, aus welchem das Jugendalter der Welt spricht.¹

In other words, the difference between C and C' is here described in terms of a contrast between the künstlich which belongs to the poetical art, and the Erzählung which belongs to the simple childish storytelling.

¹Eichhorn, 2:293.

Eduard K. Riehm describes on his part the style of C by pointing precisely to the opposite:

Dabei ist die Darstellung ruhig, einfach, frei von allem rednerischen und dichterischen Schmuck, und die Ausdrucksweise bei gleichartigen Objecten von epischer Gleichförmigkeit. So eindrucksvoll manche Stücke gerade in ihrer schlichten Einfachheit und objectiven Haltung sind, so bemerkt man doch nirgends ein Streben, durch die Mittel schriftstellerischer Kunst Effect zu machen und das Interesse des Lesers zu spannen.¹

Eichhorn characterized C as "mit vieler Kunst durch alle Teile durchgeführt" while Riehm described it as "frei von allem rednerischen und dichterischen Schmuck" and without any "Streben durch die Mittel schriftstellerischer Kunst Effect zu machen."² In the same vein Gunkel pointed out the total lack of "Sinn für Poesie"³ in C and noticed that "Gen 1 ist Prosa."⁴

It seemed that scholarship was beginning to assume this prose classification of C, when Albright brought the problem again to the fore by pleading, on the contrary, for the evidence of a "long prehistory of poetic diction" in Gen 1.⁵

Indeed, the contrast between C and C' has been

¹Eduard K. Riehm, "Die sogenannte Grundschrift des Pentateuchs," TSK 45 (1872):288, 293.

²Cf. Gerhard von Rad, who used the term "unkünstlerlich" to designate the style of C (Das erste Buch Mose: Genesis, 2:19).

³Genesis, p. xciii.

⁴Idem, Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 119.

⁵Albright, "The Refrain," p. 26.

difficult to specify with regard to their respectively belonging to either prose or poetry. This is evident from the outright differences of opinions. Yet it seems to become more evident and is shared more widely as soon as the analysis deals with another specific aspect of the style of C in comparison with C', its so-called "Bericht" expression.

Wellhausen describes C as a "Bericht in den Anfängen nüchternen Nachdenkens über die Natur," but C' as belonging to "dem wunderbaren Boden des Mythos."¹ In the following pages he specifically associates "Naturwissenschaft" with C but poetry with C'. Yet Heinrich Holzinger characterized C by its "juristische Art."² For Samuel R. Driver the literary style of C is "sterotyped, measured and prosaic."³ Recently Westermann contrasts the two accounts, and says that "bei P das aufzählende, bei J das erzählende Element überwiegt."⁴ He related C stylistically to the literary genre of genealogy.⁵

¹Julius Wellhausen, Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1883), p. 320, quoted in McEvenue, p. 5.

²Einleitung in den Hexateuch (Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1893), p. 350.

³An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, The International Theological Library 1, new ed. (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 129.

⁴Genesis, p. 4.

⁵Cf. Westermann, Creation, p. 27; idem, "Genesis," IDBSup, p. 358.

Thus the picture of the scholarly situation is significant by itself. Some liked to point to C as prose, while others have emphasized it as poetry, and each time in contrast with C'. It is only in its Bericht-genealogical character that C seems to have been clearly and unanimously distinguished from C'. This multiplicity of opinions shows at least that the question of the literary genre of C is not simple: is the text prose, poetry, or "Bericht"?

Recently, Beauchamp has cut the Gordian knot by assuming ultimately a stylistic multiplicity¹:

Mais la comparaison ayant fait ressortir que les types de parentés et de rapprochements sont divers, le genre littéraire se définira selon cette multiplicité. Si l'heptameron ressemble à plusieurs textes, n'est-ce pas que son genre littéraire est composite: les séries s'entrecroisent?²

Westermann seems to follow the same line and finds difficulty in assigning a literary genre for C. In one passage he defines it as genealogy,³ in another as "Erzählung,"⁴ in another finally he classifies it as a "poetic prose."⁵

It is interesting to note that the comparison

¹Beauchamp is aware, as he notes in the following lines, that this observation would have implications with regard to the traditional notion of genre.

²Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 375.

³See n. 1, p. 166.

⁴Genesis, 1/2, p. 111.

⁵Creation, p. 36.

between C and C' on the level of the literary structure has led us to a similar conclusion. In comparison with C', C bears characteristics of the three literary genres which have been generally pointed out by scholars, i.e., genealogy, prose, and poetry.

Its stylistic affinities with C' make clear that it could be classified as prose as well as poetry.

It is prose as Beauchamp perceived it in the sense that in the same way as C' it describes a concrete event unfolding in tension from a beginning to an end.¹ In poetry, on the contrary, there is no beginning nor end, for we are not in the time; the poet is not concerned with telling a story, recounting an event which took place there at some moment. Instead he expresses a truth which lies beyond the reality in flesh. Here is the specific mark of prose in distinction of poetry. Moreover, the way the imperfect form is used, i.e., with conversive waw, confirms this classification. This form is indeed the classical one which is used in narrative texts² to mark

¹"Son orientation vers un dénouement l'ordonne à la prose" (Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 484).

²It will be enough here to refer for instance to the patriarchal narratives. All are articulated by this verbal form. Cf. especially the study of Auerbach, p. 33, where from a comparison between the Greek style and the biblical, it is noted that the specificity of the Hebrew narrative is precisely to tell the event, the action in its process, in its rough form without any concern to bring up its psychological or even historical background (cf. our stylistic analysis of Gen 22:19-29 [L'Hébreu en Vie," pp. 90-95] and Fokkelmann, p. 66).

the development of the action at each step and to express its dynamism.

It is also poetry in the sense that Albright has suggested, that is, as a "recitation."¹ The clear demarcation of each section which was regularly denoted at its starting point by the same sound, and the symmetry of the scheme within each account, in addition to the symmetry between them, show obviously that both texts were composed for recitation and belong in fact to the same recitation.²

This literary genre, however, must not be confused with that of a hymn,³ or that of a poem which has been composed for recitation. Recitation does not automatically imply hymnic purposes, unless we define differently the notion of hymn. We must not forget that in distinction

¹Albright has indeed perceived this stylistic aspect of the creation pericope, since he perceives behind it "a long prehistory of poetic diction" ("The Refrain," p. 26). Yet for him this text is in fact nothing but the reminder of the poetic original, "a prose paraphrase . . . a condensation of an older poetic text" (ibid., p. 23). Cf. also Westermann: "It affects me as a litany" (Genesis Accounts, p. 6).

²That the conclusion of C and the introduction of C' have been connected by the MT in the same verse (Gen 2:4) may be a trace of this tradition of recitation. Cf. Thompson, p. 200.

³Against Westermann who thinks that "the hearers of the creation account heard it as part of Israel's total praise of God as Creator" and argues thereby that Gen 1 is a hymn which has "its proper setting in the liturgical psalms" (Genesis Accounts, p. 5). Cf. Beauchamp (Création et Séparation, p. 391) who notes that the hymn is "le genre littéraire le plus proche de l'heptaméron," but assumes on the next page that "ce récit est démarqué de l'hymne" (ibid., p. 392).

from the hymn which aims essentially to praise God and which, therefore, expresses a feeling, our text is essentially a story which tells about an event. We have already seen that there is actually an important difference between these texts and those which belong to the "biblical stream of tradition," the latter merely referring to the former for purposes of praise or of theology.¹ In C and C' the event of creation is recited, not as a hymn or as a theological principle, but simply as a story. The purpose is not to praise or to teach but to tell. And Schmidt has perfectly perceived the difference between the two literary genres as he contrasts the hymn of Enuma eliš and the biblical creation pericope:

Auch der Gesamtcharakter ist verschieden: enuma eliš ist ein Hymnus zur Verherrlichung Marduks (vgl. bes. die Verleihung der 50 Namen in VI, 122ff), Gen 1 will Geschichte erzählen.²

On the other hand, the close connection of C to C' makes clear that its composition does not obey mere poetic requirements. If C' follows a chronological line, and the symmetrical scheme which has been noticed there in parallel with C (1-4, 2-5, 3-6) does not affect the consistency of the chronological one, it follows that for C also the chronological is not swallowed by the poetic aspect in its "künstlich" arrangement.³

¹See supra p. 113.

²Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 30, n. 4.

³Cf. Kidner: "The symmetry of the scheme of

As a matter of fact, it seems that the biblical author of C was very concerned with this chronological aspect of the story he was telling, for he not only connected it in its development to the story of an event which was chronological in its unfolding--C' by means of the parallelism¹--but he also added another literary characteristic which is in essence chronological: he clothed C in genealogy. This latter stylistic aspect is what constitutes the distinctive peculiarity of C in comparison to C'. All the features which characterize C as

Genesis 1 raises the question whether we are meant to understand the chapter chronologically or in some other way" (Genesis, p. 54).

¹As for the problem of the apparent chronological discrepancies which have been pointed out as tokens of different sources (see especially Thompson, p. 199; cf. also Terence E. Fretheim, Creation, Fall and Flood: Studies in Genesis 1-11 [Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952], p. 46), it is resolved as soon as we place them on the right level. In C' the perspective is essentially anthropocentric: everything is there in connection with mankind:

Plants-Man: the text C' is not concerned with the creation of plants as such, as is C, but rather with the plants in their close connection to man, i.e., as a home or as food and particularly in the garden of Eden where man will live. This does not exclude a priori the possibility of the existence of other plants outside of it. We are thus here on the level of the sixth day in C where the plants become connected to man only after the creation of the latter, i.e., according to the same chronology as in C'.

Animals-Man: in C' the animals are placed in direct connection to the motif of the human couple and in this sense they do precede the creation of man in his fullness, i.e., as a couple, as is the case in C at the high point of the sixth day when man is created as a couple זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה . . . after the animals. Notice here the use of the plural אֱנוֹשׁ (see Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis 1:57, 58) which "completely overthrows the idea that man was at first androgyne" (Delitzsch, Pentateuch, 1:65).

a genealogy are indeed missing in C'. And here a comparison of C with the next genealogy (Gen 5) is particularly instructive.¹ Here as there we have the same regular unfolding by successive degrees which are introduced and concluded always by the same formula.²

Same introductory formula:

ויאמר אלהים // ויחי name, ← number שנה ויולד³

Same concluding formula:

¹A comparison with other genealogies of Genesis will provide the same picture; thus:

Gen 10:1-32:

- same introductory formula: "the sons of" (vv. 2, 6, 21);
- same concluding formula: "these are . . . after countries, language, families, nations (vv. 5, 20, 31).

Cf. Gen 11:10-26:

- same introductory formula: name, number of years, begot (vv. 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24);
- same concluding formula: "begot sons and daughters" (vv. 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25).

This is one more reason to prefer the MT version which specifies the seventh day, over against the LXX (cf. also Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, pp. 185-86) which specifies the sixth day in an evident theological concern. The end of the preceding, i.e., the sixth section, the sixth day, has been marked and then the next section must deal with the next day, i.e., the seventh. Cf. von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 60.

²Cf. Monsengwo Pasinya: "On comprend dès lors que la création soit racontée dans le genre littéraire des 'tôlédôt', (Gen 2, 4a; cfs. Gen 5). Ce genre littéraire est admirablement rendu au point de vue structural par le retour cyclique des formules-cadre" (p. 229).

³Gen 5:3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 25, 28.

⁴Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 14, 20, 24. It has its correspondence in C' as we had noticed, yet it is not here the same formula; only the phonetic starting point is "almost" regular (cf. supra p. 38, n. 1).

ויהי ערב ויהי בקר // ויהיו כל ימי¹ number, name. שנה וימת²
 יום³

Both have the same lack of human life and involvement⁴ and the text therefore presents this dry character which recalls a kind of report, "ein Bericht": man is not subject here, he is the object and has nothing to do and to say. C and the genealogy likewise describe an event in which man has no hand at all: the creation of the universe and the regular cycle of birth and death which characterizes human "destiny" in its determinism.

Both mark the place of a turning in history, a (new) beginning.⁵ The connection between C and Gen 5 and,

¹Twice ויהי in v. 23 and v. 31 in MT, but they have to be corrected according to the standard in the rest of the verses and upon the basis of other manuscripts and versions (cf. BHK, apparatus to Gen 5:23, 31).

²Gen 5:5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 24, 27, 31. The only exception is in v. 24, which points significantly to the distinctive destiny of Enoch and shows at the same time that the author is not a slave of the literary genre but depends first of all upon living history; the literary pattern had to be broken here on account of the irregular character of the content. By the way, this principle may justify the literary irregularity of the seventh section of C.

³Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23.

⁴This also is here a specific feature of C with regard to C', which is on the contrary full of human life.

⁵This property of the genealogy has recently been pointed out by Habel: "The movement of mankind from Adam to Aaron is unified by the introduction of generations or family histories (genealogies). These link the beginnings of mankind with the patriarchs, the patriarchal heroes with the Israelites, and the Israelite people with their priesthood" (p. 66). The same author also related the creation pericope to the genealogies: "These genealogies

by extension, with the framework of genealogies has been noticed by most scholars¹ and has been recently emphasized by Westermann:

The creation of man concludes with the blessing: 'Be fruitful and multiply.' The blessing is realized in the succession of generations recorded in ch. 5. If Creation and Deluge belong together, as has been demonstrated, then this must show itself in a correspondence in the realization of the blessing. And this is the case. The blessing of 1.28 is realized in the genealogy of ch. 5. The realization of the blessing of 9.1 in the genealogy of ch. 10 corresponds to this. This is deliberate and is demonstrated by the fact that the genealogy of ch. 5 shows the blessing working itself out in chronological succession, and the genealogy of ch. 10 shows the blessing working itself out in territorial expansion.²

unite Adam made in the image of God, Noah who was 'perfect' in his generation, Abraham who walked before God to become 'perfect,' and all that obedient community made holy before the present of God at Sinai" (ibid., p. 68). He continues and explains that the biblical author wished thereby "to demonstrate a correlation between the families of mankind and the natural order of Creation," and he further notes: "The scheme of Creation . . . is also termed a genealogy. . . . This genealogy, too, culminates in the sacred as the seventh day is separated and sanctified for God's blessing and rest" (ibid., p. 68). Cf. also Bernhard W. Anderson: "It is significant that the Creation is embraced within the time scheme (חילול) which P traces through succeeding 'generations' (Gen 2:4a). In this view, creation is a temporal event, the beginning of a movement of history" ("Creation," IDB 1:727). It is probably the same principle which inspired the evangelist Matthew as he introduced his history that he considered as being a new turning, a new beginning by a genealogy (Matt 1:1-17). It is, moreover, noteworthy that a similar literary usage has recently been discovered in the Babylonian epic which attests the pattern of history introduced by genealogy (see Claus Wilcke, "Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 67 [1977]: 188).

¹See von Rad, Genesis, p. 65.

²Westermann, Creation, p. 24.

Both are specifically designated at the end by the technical term חולדות.

Thus the style of the passage confirms once more the fact that Gen 2:4a points back to the record of creation.¹ And the fact that חולדות comes usually in the Bible at the beginning of the genealogy does not repudiate this pointing back.² As a matter of fact, the creation pericope is not the only biblical genealogy which places the word חולדות in its conclusion. We may find the same usage in the conclusion of the genealogy of the sons of Noah in Gen 10:32 (the word occurs there significantly only in the introduction and in the conclusion). Is it then haphazard that this genealogy, immediately followed by the story of the tower of Babel, and which introduces it,³ uses the word ראשית as it comes to deal precisely with Babel?⁴

On the other hand, the use of colophons in the cuneiform tablets shows that the procedure is not as

¹Cf. supra p. 72.

²See Fields, p. 158, n. 35.

³See the allusion to "the nations divided in the earth" (v. 32), the motif of which is echoed in the next chapter which is indeed concerned with the division of the formerly united earth. Moreover the word earth (ארץ) seems to be the linkword of the pericope of the tower of Babel, where it occurs six times, and of the conclusion of the preceding genealogy (for the stylistic technique of echo, see McEvenue, p. 38).

⁴Gen 10:10. We may then perceive there a hint to the pattern of the frame of the creation pericope, that is: חולדות . . . ראשית (both in connection with Babel).

unusual as it would seem, and may mean there also "history" in a biblical sense.¹

In the Bible, however, the word always implies the idea of generation and posterity and is never used in the sense of history which it will acquire in later Judaism, as Harrison argues.² On the other hand, if the הוללדו of Noah in Gen 6:9-10 mentions only the first generation, it is not because it has nothing to do with genealogies, which generally give a long list of generations, or because it points to the history of Noah,³ but because we are before the flood which threatens to affect definitively the posterity of Noah, which is supposed to come after this first generation. It is significant here that the short genealogy of Noah is preceded and followed by the same idea of sin and violence, and contains thereby the germ of the destruction.⁴ It is indeed a genealogy but a genealogy which is threatened with coming to an end here.

As for the use of הוללדו in Gen 37, it is concerned with genealogy, and if it deals only with the history of Joseph it is because it has to be put in the

¹See Percy J. Wiseman, New Discoveries in Babylonia About Genesis (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1936), pp. 47-50; Harrison, pp. 543, 544; McEvenue, p. 39. See the appendix, pp. 245-258.

²P. 546.

³Ibid., p. 547.

⁴Cf. 6:1-7 and 11-13.

perspective of the particular "interest" of Jacob for his son Joseph,¹ as if the only valuable posterity were here confined to Joseph.

Therefore the word חולדות must be understood in the strict sense of genealogies and must be applied only to them and not to larger sections in terms of sources in the larger sense of "history," as does Harrison² following Cyrus H. Gordon.³ The חולדות are indeed a literary genre within the larger text and are not to be taken as the sources of the latter.

Now if the literary genre of C belongs to the genealogy as well as to recitation and prose, we may then raise the question of the reason for this association and thereby of the nature of their relationship.

At any rate the stylistic correspondence which has been noticed between C and C' already shows that this association of the three genres has been voluntary and intentional, since each of them is drawn in a regular way.

¹See 37:4; cf. 49:26.

²See p. 547.

³"Higher Critics and Forbidden Fruit," CT 4 (1959-60):133. Cf. also Henry M. Morris, The Genesis Record: A Scientific and Devotional Commentary on the Book of Beginnings (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1976), pp. 28-29. For further discussion, see von Rad, Priesterschrift im Hexateuch, pp. 33-40; Otto Eissfeldt, "Toledot," in Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik: Erich Klostermann zum 90. Geburtstag, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur 77 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), pp. 1-8; McEvenue, pp. 38-39; cf. also Dale S. DeWitt, "The Generations of Genesis," EvQ 48 (1976):196-211, see especially p. 198.

The prose aspect appears in the regular thematic correspondence between the two texts, that is, on the level of the content material (le fond). And since this "künstlich" composition has been built up consciously, it follows that the inclusion in the category of prose is also intentional.

The "poetic" aspect appears on the recitative level in the regular rhythm which marks the beginning of each section. Yet C diverges here from C' in the fact that its sections always close with the same pattern of expression, and this stylistic feature relates it to the genealogy genre. This regularity which is manifested in the correspondence as well as in the divergence points indeed to the intentional aspect of the composition. On the other hand, this kind of connection between the two accounts might say something about their chronological relationship. Is not the fact that C is so distinctly a genealogy, and that C' corresponds to it only with regard to the two features of themes and the phonetic beginning of the section, a significant token indicating that C' should have been written upon the basis of C and therefore after it, just as the biblical tradition presents it?

We have the same recitative aspect in C' as in C. Yet in C the recitative aspect has come in terms of genealogy and has been swallowed by it, so that eventually we have in C not three literary genres but only two: prose and the genealogy. The fact, however, that the text was

connected with C', also on the level of recitation, ultimately reveals another purpose: this prose-genealogy was to be recited, and was not merely reduced to a dry juridical document, to be classified.

In other words, the intention of the author was clear: the text of C was to be "remembered" as a genealogy as well as prose, and in connection with C'. The fact that the message had to be transmitted in this cloth and that this clothing was voluntarily applied might betray the intention of the author who thereby provides his own key to its interpretation.

CONCLUSION

The literary structure of the biblical creation pericope C reveals a specific literary situation.

1. First of all, on account of the strong structural connection between C and C', we have to reconsider the Documentary hypothesis, at least within the limits of these texts. Indeed, C and C' appear to have been conceived and composed by a single author.

2. The literary structure of C does not point to a composite constitution of its material in terms of diverse sources. It does not support the Tatbericht/Wortbericht hypothesis but it reveals on the contrary a strong and consistent unity.

3. Finally the fact that C has been incarnated in the literary genre of genealogy betrays both an intentional and a creative composition; intentional because the features of the former are classical and found elsewhere, showing that the text has not been written haphazardly, but has been "artistically" constructed according to a pattern; creative because it found its conditioning within itself, unfolding its material with regard to C'.

As we consider these literary implications we realize that the biblical message conveyed in the creation pericope C is not so remote as it might appear from the

outset. Indeed the distance between the author and the reader has been considerably diminished. The text we have is not only the one which has been originally conceived and written down, but it is also, and this is of importance, a text which has come as a result of intentional and creative composition.

This unity of the text on one side, and its strong intentionality on the other side, invite then to a further investigation beyond the mere language, the words, toward the theological interpretation. Indeed this aspect of biblical research has been severely paralyzed by the diachronic requirement to any exegetical approach of the Bible. A theology cannot be drawn as long as there is no literary unity.¹

¹Significantly enough, it is mainly this concern, we believe, which has inspired von Rad's methodology (see his Old Testament Theology, 1:118-19).

PART III

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

The observation of the literary structure of the biblical creation pericope C in addition to the analysis of the process of its literary production emerges ultimately in theological thinking. It is because the text has been composed and transmitted with such an intentionality, that we are justified and eventually urged to "interpret" it. In other words, the matter of the theological implications is expected and even required already by the fact that the text "signifies" what it conveys.

However, our task will consist more in drawing essential theological perspectives which are implied in this literary structure of C than to bring the "total" interpretation of the text which would belong to the "absolute." Indeed, to interpret a text is, as Paul Ricoeur remarks, to project it "dans un autre espace que le sien."¹ This consists then of introducing the truth of the text into the modern patterns of thought, i.e., of connecting that text with a problem which is foreign to it, in other words, to assimilate it. The operation is then quite relative and modest and will consist in personal reflections on this text, as it spoke to us, in terms of three

¹Ricoeur, "Sur l'exégèse de Genèse 1,1-2,4a," p. 80.

concepts which may be foreign to it though implied on the level of the receiver.

On a first stage, being aware of the particular creativity which has been at work in the composition of this text, one must raise the question of the nature of its inspiration. Such a literary independence implies indeed two possibilities: either the text has been composed under a mere human poetic inspiration, as an original work, or it brings up a particular revelation from above. "Poetic" and divine inspiration are naturally the possible corollaries of an independent literary work. It is then essential to determine to what category of inspiration our text belongs in order to be able to situate ourselves with regard to it.

Then upon the basis of this mise en situation, we shall engage the dialogue with the author, and the success of this encounter will mostly depend on two basic questions: what did he mean and what does he mean?

The second chapter will then deal with the kind of "reality" which has been intended in the creation pericope. What did the author objectively mean in his description of the creation?

Finally, in a third chapter, we shall come to the subjective "truth" in the text. What did the author mean for me? What are the existential implications of this old account? In other words, how must the message of the creation be crystallized on the level of the receiver?

Indeed the latter question is basically different from the former; we stand here on the level of the reader, while there we asked on the level of the author.

It is significant that contemporary theologies which have been concerned with the meaning of the biblical creation pericope C, have been articulated around these three issues, Revelation, Reality and Existence.

It will, therefore, be opportune, before we try to go into the theological implications of our literary analysis with regard to these three particular issues, that we provide a brief survey of the discussion which has been raised among most representative contemporary theologians and which afterwards we shall refer to along the way, that we may situate ourselves against this background.

CHAPTER VII

CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

Three names--Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann, Claus Westermann--seem to have marked the present debate in the theology of creation and to have crystallized in themselves the three main trends on this matter.

It is noteworthy that the history of this discussion is in fact somehow connected with the political-historical situation. Thus it is in the wake of World War I that the first significant theology of creation has been produced. Karl Barth reacted against the liberal theology of the prewar period, the positivist optimism which after the disaster had no more justification. Man is not able to build the kingdom. Instead it is God who comes down.¹ Therefore, creation receives an extensive treatment in Barth's theology.² It is creation which expresses best this otherness aspect of Revelation. Furthermore, the objective character of Revelation is

¹See Karl Barth, The Humanity of God (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1960), pp. 40, 41.

²In fact his Church Dogmatics (12 vols. [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1961] gave more space to the doctrine of creation than to any other: four volumes are devoted to this topic (vols. III/1, III/2, III/3, III/4, i.e., 2268 pages).

necessary for an adequate relationship with man. God must be the Other, the free one, in order to assure grace to man. In other words, Revelation emerges in Existence.

Yet the reality of the creation pericope C is not assumed by Barth.¹ For him it is a mere saga, an imaginative and poetical reconstruction guided by the Holy Spirit. All is symbolic there and must be understood eventually in terms of a christology. The "revealed" is then an existential truth and has nothing to do with the Reality which is there interpreted as poetic. The scheme is thus from creation to salvation exclusive of the Real-dimension.²

¹Cf. Gustaf Wingren: "The modern negation of the belief in creation has Karl Barth as its spiritual father" (The Flight from Creation [Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1971], p. 20). For a criticism of Barth's presupposition, see Gerrit C. Berkouwer, The Triumph of Grace in the Theology of Barth, Am. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), pp. 52-58).

²We must be aware of the artificiality of this scheme in Barth's argumentation since creation is not real while salvation is. The movement must be then salvation-creation. The creation which has no existence is a concept generated in the experience of salvation which does have existence. This is why Barth emphasizes the precedence of covenant over creation. The existence of creation is directly dependent on the existence of covenant. Thus as Thomas H. Blincoe notes in his dissertation, "If there had been no covenant prior to creation, there would have been no creation" ("The Nature and Role of the covenant in Karl Barth's Doctrine of Creation with Special Attention to its Implications for the Doctrine of Universalism," [Th.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1971], p. 287). In fact, the scheme creation-salvation has been made necessary in Barth's system on account of his emphasis on the "Otherness" and not by reference to a chronological order. The priority is here rather of philosophical order. But as soon as Barth comes to the "genetics" of the process, he brings salvation-covenant before creation (see CD III/1, p. 144).

Some years later, in the thirties, the idea of creation was again referred to, especially in Germany, within the concern of a theological justification of Nazi ideology. Thus in the struggle for the reconstruction of the nation, Christians were called on to share the creative power of God which was particularly manifest in the "folk, the race and the nation."¹ Redemption was in this view regarded as coming in the perspective of creation, i.e., after a scheme similar to Barth's.

As a reaction to this distortion of the biblical doctrine, Rudolf Bultmann emphasized the personal character of Christian involvement and stressed the second article of the creed, namely, salvation by Christ. A reference to creation was relevant to the extent that it was concerned with human existence. "Faith in Creation," Bultmann insists, "is the expression of a specific understanding of human existence."² Thus Bultmann translated categories of nature and past history into terms of

¹See Norman Young, Creator, Creation and Faith: History and Existential Theology: The Role of History in the Thought of Rudolf Bultmann (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 18. Cf. Wingren, pp. 25, 37.

²"Faith in God the Creator," in Existence and Faith, ed. Schubert M. Ogden (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), p. 177. Cf. also Friedrich Gogarten, Politische Ethik (Jena: Diderichs, 1932) and H. Emil Brunner, Das Gebot und die Ordnungen: Entwurf einer protestantisch-theologischen Ethik (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1932) who concentrated their so-called "dialectic theology" around the second article of faith; belief in creation was suppressed or even neglected. The views which were developed by this group around the periodical Zwischen den Zeiten were in fact a reminiscence of Kierkegaard's concern.

human existence in the present.¹

In Bultmann's theology, the existential aspect swallowed Reality. As for Revelation, it was reduced to the mere present and subjective experience with God upon the basis of which the relevance of the biblical text was

¹Cf. Brunner's concept of creation: "The Christian statement on Creation is not a theory of the way in which the world came into being . . . but it is an 'existential' statement. In His revelation the Lord meets me, my Lord, as the Creator, as my Creator and the Creator of all things" (The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p. 35). Cf. Langdon Gilkey's existential interpretation of ex nihilo creation: "That man's life, and therefore my life, is not my own to 'do with' merely as I please, but is claimed for . . . a power and will beyond my will. This is what the idea of creatio ex nihilo is essentially 'about'" (Maker of Heaven and Earth: A Study of the Christian Doctrine of Creation [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959], pp. 30-31).

The existential categories have been taken over by Paul Tillich who, however, colors his approach by an acknowledged dependence upon a German-neoplatonic idealism (see The Interpretation of History [New York and London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1936], p. 61). The key word of his method is significantly the term "correlation": "the contents of the Christian mutual interdependence" (Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology, 3 vols. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951-63], 1:60). Tillich sees an organic correlation between the divine word and the human situation and this idea emerges ultimately in his conception of creation: whereas for Barth creation implied otherness, for Tillich it implies correlation, God created "ex-divino" even on an ontological level. "The doctrine of creation is not the story of an event which took place 'once upon a time.' It is the basic description of the relation between God and the world" (ibid., 1:252). Like Bultmann, Tillich is indeed concerned with the "self-awareness" (see ibid., 1:168). The existential understanding has thus been translated in Tillich in ontological terms. The created and the creature participate "in nature" of the Creator (see ibid., 3:210) and we understand that this concept provided some ground on which a theology for the cause of the environment can be built (see Michael Moore, "Christian Faith and Environmental Crisis in the Theology of Paul Tillich" (unpublished essay, New Haven, 1974, quoted by Young, p. 125).

evaluated. Thus Revelation does not consist in specific events, it is nothing but a truth, i.e., the kerygma which is the only dimension which "speaks."

These last decades, in the current of the decolonization movement, of the Revolution ideas and liberation theology,¹ and of the concern for ecology,² "nature" again became positive, and the world was reconciled with the Church. Therefore, an important current of theologies of creation is to be observed³ and new efforts are made to conciliate the two dimensions of creation and Redemption-Existence; one of the most noted is the recent approach of Westermann.

¹We must notice here especially the approach of the Brazilian theologian Rubem Alves (A Theology of Human Hope [New York: Corpus Books, 1969]) who reinterprets the theology of hope of Jürgen Moltmann (see The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology [London: SCM Press, 1974], and idem, Religion, Revolution, and the Future [New York: Scribner's Sons, 1969]) in terms of a politically active engagement in the created world which emerges ultimately in Revolution. See also Roger Mehl, Pour une éthique sociale chrétienne, Cahiers Théologiques 56 (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1967), pp. 45-58.

²See especially John Macquarrie who argues for an ontological continuity between Creator and creation (he refers here to Tillich's approach which he calls "organic" in order to overcome the devastating effect of the transcendentalist theology on the environment (he refers here to Barth's approach which he calls "monarchical"). See John Macquarrie, "Creation and Environment," ExpTim 83 (1971-72):4-9. On this "eco-theology," see also John Reumann, Creation and New Creation (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1973), pp. 11-13.

³See especially the Swedish systematician Gustaf Wingren, who is particularly concerned with the creation idea, in that it embraces the "Christian faith in human life as a whole" (The Flight from Creation, p. 15) and who

The latter has indeed brought the discussion to the fore by addressing the existential approach. If theology is detached from the creation-Creator theology, it emerges ultimately in a mere abstract anthropology which has nothing to do with Reality. Therefore, Westermann asks, "What can be the meaning of a salvation history which has nothing to do with real history?"¹ The "death of God" lies in the perspective of this thought, "soteriology has been cut off from reality."² For Westermann then the existential aspect, i.e., personal salvation, must not be dissociated from Reality. However, as he comes to deal directly with the biblical creation pericope itself, he points out that there is no room there for Reality. For him, creation is never recorded as an article of faith. He notices that the verb "believe" is never used with regard to creation. Thus we should not believe in creation as we do in salvation. God's saving action is an object of belief; creation cannot be an object of belief.³ He bases his argument upon two observations⁴: (1) There are many accounts of creation; and (2) the biblical creation story is not essentially different from that of the surrounding world.

appeals eloquently to a return to the first article of faith (as *ibid.*, p. 83).

¹Creation, p. 4.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 113.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

The first point means for him that there were in Israel many traditions of creation, expressing different views of creation, and this alternative shows that there was no basic creed with regard to the way the world was created. The second point brings up the nonspecificity of the biblical record, which has then no claim for a particular vertical revelation.¹

Following Barth and Bultmann, Westermann goes further than they do with regard to the irrelevance of the theological message that the interpreter has to draw out of its mythological setting though there are neither elements of Revelation nor of Reality.

Westermann repudiates squarely all these three dimensions. The biblical creation pericope is not revealed, not real, and has nothing to do with the existential relationship with God.

Thus the reference to the three dimensions, Revelation-Reality-Existence, has been differently brought up by the three theologies though they all agree on one point of the nonreality of Gen 1, they all interpret it in terms of existence or of a christology.¹

¹Westermann precisely places the creation story after the myth and before philosophical-scientific "reflexion," i.e., on a squarely horizontal level. Cf. the connection John L. McKenzie makes between myth and philosophical-scientific analysis with regard to the creation (A Theology of Old Testament [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974], p. 180).

²This is probably one of the reasons which has made Old Testament theology so little concerned with the

It remains for us now to consider these three categories in the light of the literary data our research has provided.

Genesis creation. It is indeed amazing how creation has been neglected by classical Old Testament theologies. Being essentially interpreted as a concept to be perceived behind the myth and treated only incidentally in connection, for instance, with the Redemption theology (cf. Hans H. Schmid, "Schöpfung, Gerechtigkeit und Heil: 'Schöpfungstheologie' als Gesamthorizont biblischer Theologie," ZTK 70 [1973]:1), creation was scarcely treated for itself as a specific event of the Old Testament. And this phenomenon may explain in the same way the noted fact that most of the extensive works on creation have come from systematic theology.

CHAPTER VIII

REVELATION

The biblical author has drawn some of his material of inspiration from below, from his situation here, and this needs no demonstration. It is enough to point out the mere fact that he wrote in a human language, in Hebrew, using not only the terminology and syntax of this language, but also its literary expression, namely, for instance, parallelism, play on words, rhythm, etc.

It is also of importance to notice, as has been done by most scholars, that the language of the biblical creation pericope betrays a strong concern of antimythical polemic.¹ In this sense here also the author writes in relationship to something: he is reacting. Thus the author is not absolutely creative and is somehow conditioned, either by the language in which he will mold his message, or by the surrounding cultures in reference to

¹This comes out especially in the way the author has intentionally selected his words. The word מְאֹרֹת e.g., instead of אֵשׁ and שֶׁמֶשׁ etc., and also in the way he introduced his account (cf. supra p. 131); cf. von Rad who comments on the reference to the luminaries: "The entire passage v. 14-19 breathes a strongly antimythical pathos" (Genesis, p. 53). Cf. also Barth who sees the creation of light before the sun as "an open protest against all and every kind of sun-worship" (CD III/1, p. 120; cf. also Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, pp. 110-11 and Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 102; cf. supra p. 129, n. 1).

which the biblical author had to situate himself. With regard to this material his creativity will manifest itself only in the way he uses it.

Yet there is another aspect of the creativity that must not be overlooked, and that is the fact that the biblical writer is also capable of creating new ideas which have never been expressed and new literary forms which have never been used in the same way. We must grant to the biblical "author" as a principle the capability of creativity.

It seems incontestable that the inspiration of the biblical writer reflected a time-relatedness with regard to what he received: the language, the surrounding cultures, and also his own free creativity. This is the fact for the Bible as well as for any literary work, and there is no discussion about it.

The dispute arises as soon as we come to the aspect of the biblical inspiration which is related to the vertical dimension, namely, Revelation. The creation pericope provides enough material to make the exegete able to discern the weight of the "constraint" which made the "horizontal" inspiration. Yet it appears that the text provides also elements which indeed point to the "other" kind of inspiration, the "vertical." The latter elements are brought out by the particular connection between C and C' as well as within the literary structure of C itself.

The Witness of the Connection

On a first level the fact that the two views of creation--universal, particular--are to the product of a single inspiration, is a real challenge to rational man and may point thereby to a "particular" kind of inspiration. It is traditionally taught that C' should be the product of a more primitive state while C should have appeared much later as the product of a higher and more developed culture. This observation has mainly been made on account of the data of the literary parallels as interpreted by form criticism. As Westermann puts it,

An overview of all the material shows that the stories of the creation of human being were once independent from those of the creation of the world. While the former type may be traced back to primitive religions, the latter appear only in the highly developed cultures (e.g., the Babylonian Enuma elish). The reports of Creation by J and P fit into this pattern of development. Gen. 2 is a story of human creation; Gen. 1 is a story of the creation of the world, which was added to that of the creation of human beings. . . . The distance between the two traditions is also shown in the manner in which God creates. While in ch. 2 God creates like a craftsman, in ch. 1 he calls the word into being by a command (1:3). . . . Similarly, in the cosmogony of Memphis (Egypt), creation by a word appears only at the end of a long theological development.¹

It should be noticed first of all that the proof is not given at all for a late stage of the concept of creation by word; instead, the Memphite texts attest very old traditions which contain his concept.² Even though

¹Westermann, "Genesis," IDBSup, p. 358.

²See ANET: "The extant form of this document dates only to 700 B.C., but linguistic, philological, and geo-

there was really such a developing process of ideas, we should conclude that with regard to the biblical creation pericope the "primitive" view has been brought up with the "advanced" one, which means that C' should have also appeared later, i.e., at the same data as C, either by the work of the revisor (redactor) or effectively written down then. This is not consistent with what we have found regarding the creativity at work in the composition of C' and C. For since both C' and C have been written and conceived in a creative way, at every level, and both belong to the same source of inspiration and composition, it follows indeed that we have to date the later C according to the earlier C', i.e., at a stage where creativity was still possible for both of them.

Indeed this would mean that with regard to the biblical creation pericope there was not a "time" element in the composition of these records. They did not come as the result of a long and natural process of maturation on the human level; they would therefore belong to a category of inspiration which points rather to the vertical movement of Revelation.

Inasmuch as the presupposition of nonrevelation in the approach to the biblical creation pericope had led to the dissociation of C and C', the establishment of their

political evidence is conclusive in support of its derivation from an original text more than two thousand years older" (p. 4).

profound unity may lead to an awareness of the Revelation dimension. This is the more remarkable since this kind of reference to the Revelation category does not seem to involve the consciousness of the author.

On the other hand, the association of two differing views of God, the one who is far--the God of the universe (creation of the world)--and the one who is near--the God of man (human creation)--, is suggestive of a two-fold dimension of the Revelation category.

This tension between the two experiences with God which we find throughout the Bible¹ is in fact the principle corollary of the biblical idea of Revelation. It is because God is the Other that there is need for Revelation; it is because God is close that the Revelation is made possible. The former aspect points to the "necessity" of Revelation; the latter points to its "possibility." In connecting both, the biblical author suggested that his message essentially belonged to Revelation in its two dimensions.²

The association of the two views is itself the fruit of Revelation and will give still more relief to this idea: it is not only revealed upon the basis of the witness of the biblical writer, it imposes itself as such.

¹Cf. for instance Jer 23:23.

²From this point of view, Barth's emphasis would not be exclusive of Tillich's; the biblical association of the two views of creation shows that the two are to be somehow combined, for they belong to the same essence.

This kind of inspiration may also be perceived indirectly by means of specific ideas which come out of the connection between C and C'. We stand here more on the conscious level in the process of writing.

It is for instance the case for the idea of creatio ex nihilo which is brought out by means of the parallelism.¹ The "state" before the creation in C', in its correspondent part to C, is indicated in terms of a negativeness with regard to what actually exists, what is known, i.e., the existence, the experienced reality was not yet. The world, the reality, the existence came out of the nonworld, the nonreality, the nonexistence. In this way, the biblical author was indicating that his record of creation did not come to him by a mere horizontal way of transmission. The "not yet" pointed to an operation which was performed in the time of the not yet

¹The reference to the use of the verb ברא would hardly be a decisive argument in favor of the creatio ex nihilo. First because it would be venturesome to base such an important theological idea upon only the datum of the philological analysis of one word. Secondly because this datum itself is discussed, and although ברא and עשה convey different shades of meaning and their use attests a different semantic (cf. supra p. 51, n. 1), they give often the impression they are interchangeable (see Ludwig H. Koehler and Walther Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951-53; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1951-53], s.v. "עשה,"; cf. Fields, pp. 56-74). As Westermann puts it: "Too much has been read into the notion behind this word bara", and it has been said that the biblical theology of Creation is contained in the notion behind bara'. This is an exaggeration; and the exaggeration becomes obvious when we see that the priestly writing also uses the simple word 'make' in the same sense. What is peculiar to the Creation faith cannot be compassed in a mere word" (Creation, pp. 114, 115).

and, therefore, without any witness.

The biblical author meant, therefore, that his account came to him by way of a Revelation and, since only the Creator was before the not yet, from the hand of the Creator himself. Thus the creatio ex nihilo teaching implies the idea of Revelation. It is because creation was ex nihilo that, in order to be known by man, it required a Revelation.¹

The observation of the section of the Sabbath in C by reference to its correspondent in C' also points to the "possibility" aspect of the Revelation. It indeed refers to the God Creator, hence the initiator of this relationship. It is God who blesses and hallows the Sabbath and it is also God who created man and woman to be one flesh.

Then the Sabbath is not brought up as the expression of the human movement towards God but on the contrary as conveying the idea of the up-down of God, which alone yielded this relationship.

Another idea which is expressed through the con-

¹This connection between the two ideas of creation and Revelation has been perceived by Brunner: "The world as created by God can only be known through God's revelation" (The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p. 29). He elsewhere states: "Only where God reveals Himself as Lord is the Creation understood as that which it is in the Bible: creatio ex nihilo. 'Creation out of nothing' is the expression of the unconditioned, sovereign lordship of God, of His absolute transcendence, and of His absolute mystery" (Revelation and Reason: The Christian Doctrine of Faith and Knowledge [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1946], pp. 44-45).

nection between C and C' is the idea of the perfection of creation. We have already noticed it as we were dealing with the parallelism between the two conclusions.¹ The creation is here referred to as a finished and perfected work--not yet soiled by evil. There is no room here for the neo-platonic understanding of the built-in deficiencies of the world which has been recently defended by Tillich,² and still less for the idea of evolution.³ The creation by God is a finished act: the whole work of creation is the product from above, there is nothing to add on a horizontal level. Thus in essence creation is Revelation.

The Witness of the Literary Structure

The first element which the literary structure of C puts in evidence is the fact that each creative act is issued from the word of God וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים.

This reference to the word of God throws into relief once more the ex nihilo process of creation. The divine work is not performed upon the basis of something

¹Cf. supra p. 73-74.

²See Systematic Theology 2:43-44.

³Cf. the "Theistic Evolution" as it is promoted today by most Roman Catholics, as it has been exposed recently especially by Teilhard de Chardin, liberal and neo-orthodox theologians (see Fields, p. 167). Cf. also the so-called "Progressive Creationism" which is defended by some evangelical scientists who believe that God "created first life and also the major stages of life throughout geologic history" (ibid.).

which has existence already, it is not a fabrication, it is absolutely independent. It is a creation.¹ In the biblical creation pericope, the work is described in terms of divine word because we are on the level of the not yet, where there is nothing but the word of God.² As von Rad puts it, "The only continuity between God and his work is the word."³ And the fact that the act of creation is recorded as having originated in the word of God, hence ontologically outside of God, pleads strongly in favor of the infinite distance between the Creator and his creation, of His "absolute difference."⁴ God is not involved

¹Cf. Claude Tresmontant, Essai sur la Pensée hébraïque, Lectio Divina 12 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1953), pp. 45-46.

²There is then no room for any kind of "gap-theory" which would suggest a precreation performed in a previous stage and recorded in the first verse (see on this Morris, pp. 46-48, and Fields, pp. 4-8 and pp. 131-46). Since this first verse is to be connected with וַיֵּאמֶר, it follows that the text of Gen 1-2:4a records one single creation, that by the word of God. There was nothing before.

On the other hand, the fact that in the Sabbath section as well as in the conclusion it deals with the same earth and heavens (שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ) and the same creative act בָּרָא as in the introduction, and even that the introduction is echoed in those sections, shows already that the creation in seven days which is referred to at the end in the Sabbath section and in the conclusion, is the same as the one which is referred to in the introduction.

³Von Rad, Genesis, p. 50.

⁴This concept is derived from Kierkegaard's doctrine of divine transcendence, God is the "absolutely different" (Søren Kierkegaard [Johannes Climacus], Philosophical Fragments, 2d ed [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962], p. 35). See also Brunner who designates God as "the wholly other" (Revelation and Reason, p. 45); see especially Barth in his emphasis on

ontologically in the creation.¹ As Edmond Jacob puts it, "The architect is not confused with the creation, God makes his creation so far independent of himself."² There is no room here for any form of Monism, of Monergism, of Emanationism, or for any pantheistic conception of creation of the kind which has been elaborated by Tillich.³

On the other hand, the fact that creation by word goes along with creation by generation, points to the other aspect of Revelation. The fact that it is the *תאורה* which systematically articulates the structure of the

the "irrevocable otherness" of God (CD II/1, p. 179).

¹Cf. Brunner: "We are to think of God as the God who is 'there,' apart from the world, who indeed Himself posits the world, to whom the world is not His alter ego: and when we think of the world we must think of it as something which does not naturally, essentially, and eternally, belong to God, but as something which only exists because it has been created by God" (The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p. 4). Yet absolute otherness which is implied in creation, made necessary, so to speak, the self-limitation of God in the creation process (see *ibid.*, p. 20); cf. A. V. Oettingen who presents this view under the term "Selbstbeschränkung" (L. D. II, 2 [index], quoted in Brunner, *ibid.*, p. 20, n. 1). The same idea has been recently defended by the philosopher Simone Weil, Gravity and Grace (New York: Putnam, 1952), pp. 29, 39, 35. The idea is also expressed in Jewish mysticism under the concept of *צמצום* (see Eliezer Ben Yehuda, "צמצום," מלון הלשון העברית [Dictionary and Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language] [New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960], 6:5529; cf. Gershom G. Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism [New York: Schocken Books, 1965], pp. 110-12).

²Theology of the Old Testament, p. 137; cf. Procksch, p. 274.

³Cf. *supra* p. 189, n. 1. Cf. Louis Berkhof: "The doctrine of divine immanence has been stretched to the point of Pantheism in a great deal of modern theology"

genealogy, indeed shows that the word concept has gone along the toledoth concept and should not be contrasted with it in the sense, for instance, of two different traditions.¹ Creation by word and creation by generation belong to the same process as if one wanted to suggest thereby the introduction of the word of God into the flesh of history.² As a matter of fact the reference to the word conveyed already in itself this idea of the coming down of God.³ Indeed the finality of the word, is to be

(Systematic Theology, 2d ed. [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans. 1941], p. 135).

¹Cf. Westermann, "Genesis," IDBSup, p. 358.

²Cf. André Neher's definition of prophecy: "Through them [the prophets] the infinite tries to penetrate the finite; eternity clears a path towards time" (Prophetic Existence, p. 8).

³It is, noteworthy, that this association which we find here of the three concepts Beginning, Word of God, and Light, is echoed by the prologue of John's gospel (1:1-5), which by the same token attests a reading that undoubtedly connects the word of God ὁ λόγος to the beginning Ἐν ἀρχῇ, therefore, in the sense of our structure. On the other hand, it is interesting to notice that the parallelism of concern is also working with regard to the ultimate purpose of both authors. The one is concerned to relate the תולדות, i.e., the generation process of creation by means of the word of God; the other is concerned to relate the incarnation process of the word of God. The connection is the more striking as the prologue of John holds the same function as the genealogy of Jesus in Matt 1:1-17 and Luke 3:23-28, namely, that it introduces the messianic ministry of Christ (cf. Peder Borgen and Martin McNamara who have argued that these verses are based on a midrashic or targumic commentary of Genesis 1:1ff. (Peder Borgen, "Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John," NTS 16 [1969-70]:288-95; Martin McNamara, "'Logos' of the Fourth Gospel and Memra of the Palestinian Targum (Ex 12:42)," ExpTim 79 [1968]:115-17). Cf. also Westermann, Creation, pp. 38-39.

heard. The word brings closer; it is this link which mediates between the two beings.

Thus this reference to the word of God not only points to the "necessity" aspect of the Revelation by allusion to the infinite transcendence of God, but also conveys the "possibility" aspect of the Revelation: God comes out of Himself.

Indeed the two aspects of the Revelation must be assumed together in spite of their reciprocal tension, for it is precisely this tension which yields the miracle of the "scandalous" and "foolish" fact of the Revelation.

Thus, paradoxally, the Revelation character of the biblical creation pericope is thrown into relief precisely with reference to the basic points which have been regarded by the critics as expressing the horizontal movement in the process of composition. Indeed the process which has generally been pointed out by critics is that the biblical author started from actual experience. It is the actual experience of the Sabbath which led to the concept of creation in seven days. As well, it is the actual experience of the festivals being regulated by the liminaries which led ultimately to the concept of lights. Therefore, it has been argued, we have two traditions, a primitive and an advanced one. And those have even been discerned upon the basis of literary analysis.

We have shown on the basis of literary analysis that the structure of the text, and the way the respective

sections of the Sabbath and of the luminaries echoed the first section, pointed rather to the reverse movement.¹ It is indeed remarkable that the biblical author has placed the creation of light before the creation of luminaries. This lack of natural logic is indeed suggestive of a vertical power of inspiration. The biblical author progresses from the unknown--the principle of light--to the known: the luminaries.

Furthermore, the fact that the function given to the luminaries in the fourth section, is held by God himself in the first section, is significant of the Revelation movement, i.e., from God to the object which belongs to the human experience and not the reverse.

The biblical creation pericope is not just a literary work produced by a human author upon the basis of his human experience, it tells about things which lie beyond his empiricism and which belong to the realm of the Creator; it must then be the record of a Revelation, of a Revelation from the author himself of this creation.

With regard to the Sabbath, we have already noticed that this element is not only to be connected with the seven-days pattern but belongs also to the Word line of thought.² The Sabbath conveys therefore the ex nihilo creation idea. The biblical author refers thus to the Sabbath as a product of the "ex-nihilo-creation-by genera-

¹Cf. supra p. 159.

²Cf. supra p. 160.

tion." In other words, it is not the Sabbath experience which generated the creation concept, but it is the creation process which ultimately emerged in the Sabbath. As a matter of fact, the Sabbath embraces the whole creative activity¹ and thereby points to the ex nihilo concept. It is significant in this sense that the section of the Sabbath echoes the introduction of the creation pericope as everything belonged still to the "not yet," and by the same token refers ultimately to the only one who was then present, namely, the Creator. The creation pericope is here also conceived as more than a mere witnessing about a particular event, or than a human maturation along the centuries; it is brought up as a Revelation from the Creator himself. Here is the "necessity" aspect of the Revelation which is pointed out: what required the Revelation.

Whether we observe C in its lateral movement towards C' or in its internal dynamism, we may perceive a strong concern with regard to Revelation. And it is noteworthy that this particular reference is brought up on the three levels of the relationship between the text and the reader.

On the level of the text, it appears that this dimension comes out by itself (per se) as if the Revelation character of the text was revealed as such.

¹Cf. Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, p. 104.

On the level of the author, he intentionally points it out, wanting thereby to certify the nature of its message.

Finally on the level of the reader, it raises in him the awareness of its "necessity" as well as the comfort of its "possibility"--of its necessity because it referred to the unknown, the otherness; of its possibility because it emerged in the up-down of God.

Thus the two aspects of the Revelation are complementary and neither one is to be stressed at the expense of the other.

With regard to the biblical creation pericope, it then behooves its reader to face and resolve this tension between those two aspects of the Revelation, so that the one which points to the Otherness-Legality-Reality might not be swallowed by the other which points on the other side to the relationship, the closeness, the existential, or vice versa. Then in the extension of the reflection on Revelation, it articulates the necessity of an adequate dialectic with regard to the Reality and the Existence conveyed by the biblical creation pericope.

CHAPTER IX

REALITY

Since the text is revealed, the reader must assume the strangeness of its data and is therefore not able to evaluate the degree of reality upon the basis of its content only. Since it is revealed and came from without, there are in it elements which might refer to reality even if it does not seem so upon the basis of the experience of the reader. In other words, the nature of the content--its probability or not--must not be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the Reality.¹ For the criterion of probability is not infallible. Indeed, the author could have meant a reality about a thing which is not probable for the reader. Then the only way to reach the intention of reality within the text is to look at its form; the way the content has been expressed witnesses about the way it has been thought. Our inquiry has then to do with the literary genre of the creation pericope to the extent that it is attested as "expressive," elsewhere in the Bible.

¹Cf. Johann G. Fichte, who rejected the biblical idea of creation because it did not obey the criterion of logic. It was "something we cannot properly imagine" (Ausgewählte Werke 5:191, quoted in Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p. 11, n. 4).

As a "genealogy" the biblical creation pericope speaks of the reality in terms of exactness. What is there, should be understood as something precise. There is no room here for imagery; the dry tone recalls the "juridic" document.

The author may have used the literary genre of the genealogy to express his word in order to indicate the historical-human dimension of this event. Creation belongs to human history as to the episodes of the patriarchs. Edmond Jacob emphasizes this point as he notes,

The same priestly author uses the term toledot for the creation of the heavens and the earth (Gen 2:4) as well as for the genealogy of the patriarchs and still today the Jews express this unity of creation and history by dating their calendar from the creation of the world.¹

On the other hand the author might have used the literary genre in the mere intention to establish the descent of the human world without special reference to its

¹Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, p. 139. Cf. also Bernhard W. Anderson: "What often escapes attention is that the creation story in Genesis 1:1-2:4a and the supplementary account in Genesis 2:4b-25 are inseparably related to the historical narration which unfolds through the period of the fathers of Israel (Gen. 12-50), the events of the Exodus from Egypt and the invasion of Canaan (the books of Exodus through Joshua and Judges), the rise and fall of the Israelite nation (the books of Samuel and Kings) Often we detach 'creation' from this historical context and consider it as a separate 'doctrine' (which happens usually in discussions of the relation between science and religion). But this violates the intention of the creation stories. They want to speak to us primarily about history. Accordingly, the greatest weight must be given to the form of these stories: they are 'historical accounts' and, as such, are part of the historical narration" (Creation Versus Chaos, p. 33).

historical reality. This dress of genealogy would have been used essentially with the purpose of expressing the descent idea. As a matter of fact we have many genealogies in the Bible which are not complete, having essentially the function to establish the descent. Thus the abbreviated genealogy of Ezra¹ has not the function to record all the links, it is used to point to Ezra's descent from Aaron. It is the same for the genealogy of Matthew² which omits at least four names and adopts the device of a numerically symmetrical list, probably with the intention to hint to the Davidic descent, bringing up the number fourteen by reference to the gematria of the name of David.³ Though the number of generations is roughly right, the genealogy of Matthew is more concerned with the importance of the truth, i.e., the descent of Jesus--he is son of David and therefore the Messiah--than to report faithfully all the steps from David to Jesus.

Being a genealogy, the creation pericope would then tell about an event in an exact but not complete way.

¹Ezra 7:1-5.

²Matt 1:1-17.

³See Marie-Joseph Lagrange, Evangile selon saint Matthieu, Etudes bibliques, 7th ed. (Paris: Gabalda, 1948), p. 3. Cf. Marshall D. Johnson, The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogy of Jesus, Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series 8 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 192-93.

What does it mean? All that is told is true but not everything of the real story has been told. Furthermore, if the author is mainly concerned with the descent idea, passing over links he will then reduce them as did Matthew, for instance to a number which has ultimately a symbolic signification.

The question which arises then is the nature of the number seven. Is it historical or symbolical? Has the creation pericope been written in the same way as Matthew's genealogy, i.e., as an abbreviated form with the intention to relate this event to the number seven by reference to the Sabbath? This would mean that the creation pericope would have been conceived from the Sabbath experience. We have already discussed this point and have come to the conclusion that it was not the case.

On the other hand, the fact that the progression of C is in parallelism to the one of C' constitutes an indication of what the author meant by this distribution in seven sections. In C' the sections mark the steps of the unfolding of a historical event. In the same way then the author of C might have conceived the unfolding of the event of the creation. And indeed the fact that C is already connected to C' precisely along this same line marked by seven steps, expresses the same way of thinking in both records: it points here and there to a historical event, with a beginning and an end, in time, and not to a theological truth. We have already noticed that on

account of the literary connection of C with C', we had to consider C also as belonging to the same prose literary genre as C'.¹ Thus the biblical creation pericope belongs also to what is historical. The report is both exact and historical. It is exact as a juridic document, which has no room for feeling, for enthusiasm and overstatement. It is as historical as a narrative document telling about something which does not belong to mythology or a symbolic methaphysic. The historical dimension is the same in C as in C', which implies that C is meant to be understood to have the same dimension of Reality as C'. Heaven, earth, plants, and animals belong to the human and real world,² and it is the same on the level of the event in its unfolding, on the level of the time. The day there is a human day, a twenty-four-hour day. It is a real Reality. There is no ambiguity. The biblical author has conceived, written and intended the creation pericope according to the same pattern of reality he meets in his real life. In other words, C is composed and thought out with the same material of flesh as C'.³

¹Cf. supra p. 168.

²Cf. von Rad's comment on Gen 2: "It is man's world, the world of his life" (Genesis, p. 74).

³Thus the fact that in C' man is created mature, arrived, would be an indication of the process of creation with regard to the light and also the earth and the ground, etc., as they have been conceived in C: they are in the same way created complete, not in germ. In this absence of process of maturation, the time element is swallowed here as there so that the biblical creation pericope does

With regard to the creation pericope we have, therefore, to understand the principle of "revelation in history"¹ specifically in the sense of a Revelation of history. It has been revealed that it happened so. It is not an event which has been experienced, then assimilated and confessed in such a way that it ultimately came to be different in nature from the original one.² This Revelation is neither a theological "teaching" about the mere truths of the "God who acts."³ It is an event which belongs to real history.

The question arises, however, whether because of

not provide any room for any evolutionistic view of the genesis of the world.

¹See James Barr, "Revelation in History," IDBSup, p. 746.

²Cf. the concept of the two versions of Israel's history, especially in von Rad, Old Testament Theology, 1:106-15.

³Cf. especially George E. Wright (God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital, Studies in Biblical Theology 8 [Chicago: H. Regnery, 1952], pp. 11-13) from whom ultimately the acts of God become only an abstraction. About this equivocation, see the reaction of Langdon B. Gilkey ("Cosmology, Ontology, and the Travail of Biblical Language," JR 41 [1961]:194-205). Cf. also Westermann for whom the creation pericope is functional, telling us that God is the Creator (Creation, p. 44). Cf. the latter's definition of myth as "a reflection on reality" (*ibid.*, p. 13). Cf. Brunner who argues that the Bible is more concerned by the meaning of creation than by the fact of creation (The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p. 7). Cf. George Fohrer's distinction between Geschichtsberichte and theologische Geschichtsbetrachtung, the latter being applied to the creation (Theologische Grundstrukturen des Alten Testaments, Theolog. Bibliothek Töpelmann 24 [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972], p. 192).

that it is accessible to critical study.¹ In other words, since the creation has been revealed as a historical event, does that mean that we are able to evaluate it in the same way we do another historical event? We do not think so. Although creation is described in human words, in a way which attests that the author indeed meant its exactness and historicity, it does not imply that this record brought also the scientific mechanism of the process of creation.

Creation is here depicted from outside, not from inside. We can say then that the biblical creation pericope was meant as a historical and exact report but not as a scientific explanation of its internal process.² The simple reason for this is that only these two dimensions were projectable, "incarnable" into human language and thereby belonged to the vertical aspect of the Revelation in its "possibility" aspect.

Now to argue that evolution is the "mechanism of creation," as Brunner has done,³ is to place the mechanism which is in God, hence beyond the human perception, on a

¹Cf. Wolfhart Pannenberg et al., eds., Revelation as History (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 137.

²Cf. Bernhard W. Anderson: "Creation is an article of faith for which there is no scientific support precisely because creation is not, biblically speaking, a natural event, but a historical event" (Creation Versus Chaos, p. 41). Cf. Ludwig Köhler, Old Testament Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), p. 87.

³See The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, p. 40.

horizontal and naturalistic level. Instead all is here placed on the level of God and cannot be explained in scientific terms: it is a miracle.¹

In fact there is no mechanism. Even the formula "creation by word," which we have used for the sake of clarity, does not provide the mechanism of the process of creation. Here the word of God is not referred to as a means but as belonging to the narrative. "God said" points to the fact of the creative act, not to its inner process, by which it came about.

Indeed the creation pericope has no room for this kind of investigation and explanation which is placed on the level of God and cannot be explained in scientific terms: it is in its internal mechanism a divine act and thereby belongs to the vertical process of the Revelation in its "necessity" aspect.

¹Cf. Procksch, p. 274.

CHAPTER X

EXISTENCE

It is now interesting to notice that this reality has been projected on the human level, i.e., the Sabbath, in its two dimensions. Being by nature a measure and a time, the Sabbath conveys indeed both ideas of "Exactness" and "Historicity." Besides this, the Sabbath embraces all creation not only because it refers to it as a whole, but also as being the last link of the genealogy. Thus in its content as well as in its literary situation, the Sabbath points back to the Reality of the whole event of creation.

Moreover the fact that the Sabbath is the last step of the "genealogy" affords to it at the same time a special function of link between the two stages of history. It is indeed noteworthy that the last section of the genealogy is the one which announces the following history. Thus the last link of the genealogy of Adam and of Shem¹ deals systematically with the one with whom the following history will be concerned, namely, Noah and Abraham. Moreover this last man being the genetic result of the preceding mentioned man, he is in fact his actual representa-

¹Gen 5 and 11:10-32; cf. also Gen 10.

tive, the living witness of his historicity. We can say then that the last section of the genealogy is in fact the link which relates the preceding history to the following one.

So it is for the Sabbath, which has the twofold function of witnessing the historicity of the past event of creation and also of starting the new history, the human one.¹ It belongs to both of them. In the Sabbath the existential dimension is essentially animated by Reality. And this is significant of the way in which the connection between Reality and Existence has been conceived. There is no tension between the two perspectives. It is because the creation pericope was indeed conceived as a Reality, that it had to take its place in human existence through the Sabbath.

Covenant in Existence

Being on the human level the reference to the divine creation, the Sabbath was then designed to become the place of encounter between God the Creator and man the creature, the occasion for the vertical relationship. The Sabbath became the existential dimension of the creation pericope because it was the only one which in Reality and

¹"Dieu entra dans son Shabbat et commence l'histoire de l'homme" (Léon Askenazi, "Le Shabbat de Dieu," in Le Shabbat dans la Conscience Juive: Données et Textes, éd. Jean Halperin and Georges Levitte, 14e colloque d'Intellectuels juifs de langue française du Congrès Juif Mondial [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975], p. 61).

History had provided the link between man and God.¹

Indeed the idea of relationship is explicitly referred to in our passage through the concepts of blessing and hallowing and indirectly by means of the parallelism with C' which relates the marriage union to the vertical communion.² It must be noticed here that this relationship is essentially described in terms of an initiative on the part of God. It is a relationship of Grace.³

However, this relationship is not imposed on man, it is not an objective hence indiscussible creation as it

¹This point has been particularly emphasized by Barth: "On this day the creature, too, is to have a 'breathing space' in consequence of and in accordance with the fact that God the Creator also rested on the seventh day of creation, celebrating, rejoicing, and in freedom establishing His special lordship over the finished creation. It is to be noted that there neither is nor can be issued a corresponding summons to the week's work as a supplementary and imitative participation by man in God's creative work, since man was never the witness of any of it, but was himself only its final object. Here it is proclaimed that man may and shall 'rest' with God, imitating His action, doing no work, celebrating in joy and freedom. In the context in which the Sabbath commandment is affirmed there is no question of man's contemplation of accomplished work. It is only by participation in God's celebrating that he can and may and shall also celebrate on this seventh day, which is his first day" (CD III/4, p. 52). See also Henri Cazelles, "Table Ronde," in Exégèse et Herméneutique, ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour, coll. "Parole de Dieu" (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971), p. 92. It is the same idea which has been expressed in this Jewish tradition which symbolically paralleled the ladder of Jacob's dream with the Sabbath (see Samuel H. Dresner, The Sabbath [New York: Burning Bush Press, 1970], p. 85).

²Cf. supra p. 40.

³Cf. Barth, CD III/4, p. 58.

is for the six preceding acts of creation. It is significant that there is not a seventh act of God, properly speaking. The creation of the Sabbath did not take place as such because the Sabbath has no existence per se, it depends also on man, as it is for the God-man relationship. The initiative comes from God as an act of grace but it still implies freedom on the part of man; this relationship implies then a covenant. Indeed, for the first time the creature has something to say in the creation. From the seventh day of the creation on, God meets the will of the other, for he had created him in his image.¹ The first covenant in which God engaged with man was concerned with the Sabbath.

Moreover, it is noteworthy to recall that the seventh section starts differently from the others; the act of creation is not there described as the result of the "free" word of God (וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים). For the first time, the only time in the record of creation, it is the created which is the subject (וַיִּכְלֶה הָאֱלֹהִים וְהָאָרֶץ).

On the other hand this observation is supported by the identity of the situation in the correspondent section of C'. There also it is for the first and only time in the record that the created, i.e., man, is the subject (וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם). There also we are concerned with the idea

¹See Doukhan, "Die Berufung zur Verschiedenartigkeit," pp. 6-11.

of a relationship, a union, man and woman will become one flesh. "Will become": it is not a state, God has not created man united to woman. He created them to be united. There also the freedom of each partner is involved which implies a "particular" relationship, a dialogue between two "different" persons, but more than this, an intimate, reciprocal and dynamic union; union which is never granted, always to be built. In this sense the Sabbath conveys a tremendous existential power.

Thus Universal and Particular are once more associated in the thought of the author. They are not exclusive. They are not even dissociated in time,¹ they are of the same essence. The Sabbath expresses both dimensions²; it recalls the transcendence of the Creator of the universe and of mankind, but it also "realizes" the presence of my Creator. And therefore it is the sign of the biblical concept of covenant (Exod 31:31; Ezra 20:12, 20), whether it involves man as son of Adam and universe in general on a "cosmic" level (Gen 2:3; Isa 56:2-8), or the people of

¹As Cullmann does for instance in drawing the progressive linear movement Universal-Particular in his theology of election (Christ and Time, p. 178). Cf. also the form-criticism in Westermann, *supra* p. 196.

²We have here also the two Revelation aspects, cf. *supra* p. 208. Cf. Fritz Guy, "The Sabbath is invested with the relatedness and the ultimacy of God. This means that to experience the Sabbath is to affirm these two qualities of God, and to deliberately disregard the Sabbath symbolizes a denial of them" ("The Presence of Ultimacy," Spectrum 9 [1977]:48).

God in particular on a "historical" level (Deut 5:15).

Moreover, the fact that the Sabbath has been so associated with the marriage union¹ undoubtedly points to the biblical concept of covenant. It is noteworthy indeed that this concept of covenant has been repeatedly associated in the Bible with the marriage union.² And this reference not only attests already the existence of an "Adamic"³ covenant,⁴ but it indicates by the same token that the latter was conceived as of the same nature as the one which will be contracted with the people of God, i.e., a covenant on the level of history, a "particular" covenant.

¹It is interesting to notice that the Jewish tradition maintained this particular "marriage" dimension in the theology of Sabbath, comparing the latter to the bride of God (see Genesis Rabbah 11:8; B. Talmud Nedarim 79b and B. Talmud Shabbat 119a; cf. Abraham J. Heschel, The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man [New York: Roff, Straus and Giroux, 1951], pp. 54, 55).

²See especially Hos 2:4 who follows the terminology of Gen 2:23 (cf. Neher, Prophetic Existence, p. 247). Cf. also idem, "Le symbolisme conjugal dans l'histoire de l'Ancien Testament," RHPR 1 (1954):30-49; Otto J. Baab, "Marriage," IDB 3:285-86.

³We use this expression by reference to the "Abrahamic," "Sinaitic," "Deuteronomic" covenants without any implication regarding its usage in Calvinistic or in Dispensationalist theology.

⁴Cf. Edward Heppenstall, "The Covenants and the Law," in Our Firm Foundation: A Report of the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Conference Held September 1-13, 1952 in the Sligo Seventh-day Adventist Church Takoma Park, Maryland, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publ. Assoc., 1953), 1:437-92. Cf. also Th. C. Vriezen who argues for such a covenant by reference to the creation of man in the image of God (An Outline of Old Testament Theology [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958], pp. 142-47).

Now this essential quality of the Sabbath is effective as long as it does not lose its connection with the two other dimension of the creation, i.e., Reality and Revelation.

Existence-Reality

Indeed, the Sabbath exists as such only to the extent that it refers to the creation as a historical event which really took place once in the past. If the creation did not take place, then the Sabbath, which according to the biblical record belongs to it as its last step, did not exist as well. In other words, if the Sabbath has no historical reality, then the creation has no historical reality.¹ The Sabbath is not a mere symbol pointing to the idea of creation, simply expressing the faith in a God Creator. The Sabbath points first of all to a historical event because it is already by nature historical. Therefore the biblical faith of creation is essentially a reference to a past. That is why the Sabbath has been transmitted in the biblical tradition under the sign of a remembrance, זכור.² This is why the record of creation has been written also for the purpose of being recited, of being memorized.

¹To spiritualize the one leads inevitably to do the same for the other (cf. especially Barth's theology on creation and on Sabbath; cf. supra p. 186 and infra p. 230, n. 1).

²See Exod 20:8.

Incarnated in the "genealogy" genre, and in the "prose" genre, the creation pericope was built so that it might be maintained as such in the mind. Thus the creation pericope had to pass through the centuries, had to be memorized so that the event of the past it told about, as an exact and historical report (genealogy-prose), was not forgotten (recitation). Indeed, the reference to the biblical creation is not just a theological thought, it is a remembrance.

The relationship to the Creator is not direct, individual, subjective, it passes necessarily by a reference to the historical event.¹ And the fact that later the prophets described the salvation experience by reference to the creation does not mean that they interpreted creation as an existential fact but indeed that they interpreted salvation as a historical event of the same essence as the creation. It is not the Redemption idea which generated the creation idea.² It is rather

¹Mircea Eliade has emphasized how strong this concern of the "historical" is in Hebrew thought (Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return [New York: Harper & Bros., 1959], pp. 102-112).

²This overemphasis on Redemption against creation originated in fact in the Marcionite approach which opposed Redemption to creation, the Saviour to the Creator, the two being exclusive (cf. Westermann's discussion on Creation/Redemption, in Creation, pp. 113-23; cf. also *infra* p. 232; see also LaRondelle, p. 51).

We perceive the same tendency still in Ludwig A. Feuerbach: "Nature, the world, has no value, no interest for Christians. The Christian thinks only of himself and the salvation of his soul" (The Essence of Christianity, [New York: Harper & Bros., 1957], p. 287).

Einar Billing's theology is in the same vein. Exodus

takes precedence over Genesis (De etiska tankarna i urkristendomen [The Ethical Thought in Early Christianity], 2d ed. [Stockholm, 1936], p. 9, quoted in Gustaf Wingren, An Exodus Theology: Einar Billing and the Development of Modern Swedish Theology [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969], p. 160, n. 1). Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 154-60. Salvation and election of Israel are extensively treated whereas God's creation of man and the world are quite neglected.

Cf. also Brunner who argued that in Israel God was first known as Lord hence as the Creator; the personal relationship idea preceded the creation idea (see The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Revelation, pp. 8 and 9).

The recent theologies of creation have tried to free themselves from this dissociation and to reconcile creation and Redemption. However most of them have come to a theology which ultimately swallowed creation into Redemption; and following Barth and Bultmann have interpreted creation in terms of a christology. Thus Westermann as he opposes the belief in Redemption to the non-belief in creation (see Creation, pp. 113-23).

For von Rad, the idea of creation has come as the immediate result of the Redemption experience and has therefore no reality by itself (see Genesis, pp. 32, 44; cf. *idem*, "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation," p. 131).

The Swede Gösta Lindeskog emphasizes creation more than von Rad, but creation is still understood in relation to Heilsgeschichte, associating what he calls "Ktisiology" (see "The Theology of Creation in the Old and New Testaments," in The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology, ed. Anton Fridrichsen et al. [Westminster: Dacre Press, 1953], p. 1, n. 1) and Eschatology: "The histories of the Creation and of the elect people were related to each other. Ktisiology was, so to speak, historized, and the work of creation became an act of election. . . . Eschatology in its most significant form is always related to Ktisiology" (*ibid.*, p. 21).

For Heinz Schwantes, creation is the expression of the belief in resurrection, and upon the basis of Gen 1:3, 1 Cor 4:6 the creation pericope is interpreted as a symbolic reflection about the emergence of light out of darkness, i.e., salvation (Schöpfung der Endzeit, Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft 25 [Berlin: Evangelischer Verlag, 1963]).

Recently, John G. Gibbs has sought to resolve the problem of the relation between creation and Redemption with the formula:

L (lordship of Christ)	
C (creation)	R (redemption)

because the creation was assumed as a real historical event that the theology of Redemption could refer to it as it dealt with the actual event of salvation, and ultimately as it pointed to the eschatological salvation.

Creation and Redemption are independent¹; being in fact historical they are two distinct events and do not belong to a mere mental category.² And if they are

(Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology, NovTSup 26 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971], pp. 148-54; cf. Reumann, pp. 103-4). But the formula is artificial, for as Reumann notes it, "Can one come to picture Christ as the lord of creation without first having experienced the redemption which he mediates?" (ibid., p. 94). Therefore Reumann proposes eventually to identify creation and Redemption in the sense that Redemption makes the believer a new creature (ibid., p. 104). But still here creation is subsequent to Redemption and the problem is not settled.

Thus modern theology has tried to find a way out of the opposition set by Marcion and his followers, namely, Redemption against creation and has been led ultimately to a similar conclusion: Redemption swallowed up creation.

¹Against von Rad, Genesis, p. 44, and idem, "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation," p. 142. Cf. also Schmid for whom the two concepts are even more radically related. Creation theology has in the Old Testament, as in the ancient Orient, "durchaus soteriologischen Charakter." Thus Creation is identified with Redemption; Gen 1 is considered as "die erste Heilstat Gottes" (p. 8, n. 21). Therefore creation is not a "new" idea merely generated by Redemption, as von Rad argues. See on the other hand James Barr: "But the actual content of the creation story does not reveal any particular dependence on the Exodus theme; in fact, its absence of dependence on what is usually regarded as the 'central' theology of Israel is one of the marked things about it" (Old and New in Interpretation: A Study of the Two Testaments [New York: Harper & Row, 1966], p. 76; cf. LaRondelle, p. 55).

²Against George E. Wright: "The Bible . . . considers as historical events matters which to the modern mind seem simply to be human ideas or human faith projected into history" (p. 117).

often associated in the Psalms, in Isaiah and in the New Testament, etc.,¹ it is not because of their identity in terms of "creation is Redemption," but because salvation was "interpreted" in terms of creation² by a reference back to the past event.³

¹Cf. the reflection of Reumann in his chapter "Creation continues--Redemptively," pp. 57-82.

²This movement of thought is already attested in Deut 4:32-40 where the creation event is referred to by association to the Exodus event so that the latter may be understood as a kind of creation. Cf. also Exod 34:10 which interprets the marvels of Exodus in terms of a creation, נפלאות אשר לא נבראו. Cf. also the connection creation-salvation especially in the so-called Deutero-Isaiah (see Reumann, pp. 73-85).

In this perspective, we believe, must also be understood the concept of "new" in the biblical reflection of salvation. The new covenant or the event of salvation which is thereby referred to (see Jer 31:31; 1 Cor 3:6-11, etc.) has nothing to do with what happened in the past; it is "essentially" new, likewise a creation. The eschatological salvation is not "Urzeit gleich Endzeit" after the word of Gunkel. The omega is to be more than the alpha, as Moltmann has observed (The Crucified God, p. 99). Instead, the idea of return of the cycle as the eschatological salvation which is often expressed in ancient Near Eastern literature, is absolutely foreign to the Bible (see André Lamorte, Le problème du temps dans le prophétisme biblique [Bcattenberg, Switzerland: Edition Ecole Biblique, 1960], p. 39; cf. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 51-60) and this precisely on account of its specific understanding of creation, as Frame puts it: "Thus the Egyptian view of creation was very similar to that of ancient Israel. Creation is the first event in history, and new creative events occur from time to time, so that the creation is ever realizing itself anew in history. The difference between the two views is that, in Egypt these new creative events occur in cyclical fashion, with the daily rebirth of the sun and the annual receding of the Nile, whereas in Israel, the new creative events occur in linear succession in accordance with the plan of Yahweh for the Salvation of his people" (pp. 73-74).

³Very often the biblical prophet refers to a historical event of the past to make perceivable the event of the future. That is the case for instance in the prophetic name of Jezreel (Hos 1:4) which is given by

This is already evident in the fact that the Bible often brings up the Redemption experience as a reference to creation, which indicates the precedence of creation over Redemption. It is indeed significant that while the texts concerned with Redemption refer to creation, the reverse is not attested: the creation pericopes never refer to the Redemption idea.

In other words, it is not creation which depends on Redemption but the reverse, Redemption which depends on creation.

This is also evident in the fact that covenant, which constitutes the basis of Redemption,¹ itself implies creation: because God created the "Other"² he could love him, relate to him and eventually save him. This is precisely what Edmond Jacob perceives as he writes, "The covenant is only possible within the framework of creation"³;

reference to the historical event of the day of Jezreel which tragically marked the end of the Omride dynasty and the beginning of Jehu's (see 2 Kgs 10), in order to suggest an event to come of the same nature, i.e., the tragic end of Jehu's dynasty.

¹It is to be noted that the concept of covenant implies Redemption just in potentiality and not in actuality, for Redemption presupposes sin while covenant, which is "in fact" implied in creation, does not. As David B. Burke wrongly observes in "The Covenant between God and Man Through Adam" (class paper, History and Philosophy of World Religions, Andrews University, 1973): "Before sin entered into the world there was no need for a covenant between God and man" (p. 5). "If there had been no sin committed by Adam and Eve, there would have been no need for a covenant" (ibid., p. 18).

²See supra p. 203.

³Theology of the Old Testament, p. 136.

and he further explains,

The autonomy which God confers upon man alone makes possible a covenant, for there can only be a covenant where the autonomy of the two contracting parties is maintained.¹

To believe in the actual and future redemptive activity of God presupposes the belief in creation. Redemption implies creation. The Sabbath is the actualization of a past event upon the basis of which can be thought the miracle of tomorrow.² Hope is made of memory.

And the question arises regarding the "mechanism" which makes it possible that this event of creation, which is so far past, can become on an existential level a guarantee of the future salvation. This of course calls in a third category, and that is faith in the God of Revelation.

Existence-Revelation

Indeed, the Sabbath exists as such only to the extent that it refers to the Sabbath of the Revelation,³ to

¹Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, p. 137; cf. Walther Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, The OT Library, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961-67), 1:410. Cf. Barth's conception of the "Otherness" as a prerequisite of the covenant of Grace (see supra p. 187, n. 2).

²Cf. Procksch, p. 274.

³In this perspective the Sabbath would hardly be conceived as the result of a "horizontal" maturation of traditions, as has been understood and elaborated mainly in the critical approach, justifying therefore the theology of the abrogation of the Sabbath. See especially Ernst Jenni, Die theologische Begründung des Sabbatgebotes im Alten Testament, Theologische Studien, eine Schriftenreihe 46 (Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1956), pp. 11-

that Sabbath and not another one,¹ for the sole reason that God spoke; because of God. For the existential ability to relate past to future belongs essentially to the category of Revelation where we are beyond time, because in the eternal God.² In other words, faith is the very "mechanism" which yields the connection. Indeed, creation and Redemption require on the part of the believer the same nature and quality of faith, namely, a faith which in both cases considers as possible creation out of nothingness, deliverance out of hopelessness, i.e., a faith which is future

12. Cf. also on this Andreassen, pp. 1-16 and Charles W. Kiker, "The Sabbath in Old Testament Cult" (Th.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1968), pp. 5-39.

¹Cf. especially Barth's argumentation according to which the Sabbath has not been abrogated but became at the "termination of the history of the covenant of salvation" (CD III/1, p. 217) the Sunday (ibid., p. 228). Cf. also Paul K. Jewett's theology of the "dialectic of fulfillment in hope" (The Lord's Day: A Theological Guide to the Christian Day of Worship [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971], pp. 81-84); cf. Oscar Cullmann who argues that "from the time of Christ on, the change from the Sabbath to Sunday takes place" (Early Christian Worship, Studies in Biblical Theology 10 [London: SCM Press, 1953], p. 91; cf. the dispensationalist distinction between the Sabbath of pure law (Jewish Sabbath = Saturday) and the Sabbath of pure grace (Christian Sabbath = Sunday). Cf. also the theological position of the Roman Catholic Church as developed especially by Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologica, 2/2 Q122).

²See Lamorte: "Nous avons là la preuve que le voyant non seulement s'identifie avec la cause divine, mais que, aux grandes heures de l'inspiration qui le transporte en esprit vers l'événement qu'il doit annoncer, il parvient à vivre hors de son temps. Dans le temps que Dieu vit, la Ruah fait du prophète un partenaire de Dieu jusqu'à supprimer les barrières du temps, jusqu'à actualiser le futur proche ou lointain" (p. 36).

oriented.¹ And this dimension of faith indeed gives to the concept of creation an eschatological overtone, in the sense indicated by Köhler,

The fact that God is the creator of the world means that He compasses the complete time process, ruling, determining and completing all ages.²

Thus creation is an "eschatological concept" in that it teaches that, since the beginning has been the fact of God, the end belongs to him.³ The eschatological dimension does not lie in the nature of the event of

¹Horst D. Preuss, Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung, BWANT 5, 7 (der ganzen Sammlung Heft 87), (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1968), pp. 205-6.

²Köhler, p. 88.

³We may wonder, however, to what extent this interpretation of creation in terms of an eschatological concept does not in fact hide a subtle allusion to the evolutionist thought. Even the context in which Köhler puts these words may indeed be confusing: "To the beginning there corresponds an end, to creation there corresponds a consummation, to the 'very good' here a 'perfectly glorious' there: they belong together. Creation in Old Testament theology is an eschatological concept" (ibid.). As a matter of fact, a comment on this passage by Edmond Jacob betrays more specifically the "process" which is here in view: "since creation itself is an eschatological concept, it is natural that this feature is also reflected in their conception of nature. Everything in creation is well done, but perfection in the creation is entirely directed towards Yahweh's final aim which is the salvation of humanity" (Theology of the Old Testament, p. 148). Indeed, the presupposition which is here implied is that creation has not yet been finished, it is directed towards its ultimate goal, i.e., its perfection in the salvation of humanity. The "very good" will become the "perfect" of salvation, a presupposition which somehow meets Teilhard de Chardin's as he describes the creation in its "continuing" process (Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Toward the Future [New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975], p. 103), "very far from being fully created" (ibid., p. 102), "converging in the future towards a 'natural,' psychic, consummation" (ibid.), to the "Omega point," the "parousia point" (ibid., pp. 185-191).

creation but rather in the faith of God as Creator. To believe that God is the Creator leads one to believe in a God who has power over creation, hence over history, in a God to whom the last word belongs.¹ Faith in the Creator leads to faith in the Saviour, not that creation is the same idea as Redemption, but rather because both "concepts" make necessary the same quality of faith. In other words, the connection creation-Redemption is not to be attributed to the objective nature of the two "events"; rather it functions essentially on the subjective level of faith within the believer.²

One believes in the possibility of a recreation to the extent that one believes that the God who already had

¹See Gerhard Renkler, "Creation," Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology, ed. Johannes B. Bauer [London: Sheed and Ward, 1970], 1:148. It is moreover interesting to notice that this aspect of the eschatological concept has been recognized as being precisely the very purpose of "the genealogical tradition of the OT which is dominated by the basic conception that God alone governs history and orders the generations to a final goal" (Marshall D. Johnson, The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies, Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series 8 [London: Cambridge University Press, 1969], p. 190; cf. also pp. 207-10).

²It is perhaps because creation and Redemption have been reduced to their subjective dimension, namely, as a mere process of faith, that in modern theology they have been so closely connected and would hardly exist independently. The treatment of the concept of "eschatology" in Albert Schweitzer's theology and others' after him seems indeed to point to this particular way of thinking. See Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (New York: Seabury Press, 1968), pp. 86-90; see Charles H. Dodd, "The Mind of Paul I," in New Testament Studies (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1952), pp. 67-82 and "The Mind of Paul II," *ibid.*, pp. 83-128. For a discussion on this question see Herman Ridderbos, Paul: An Outline of His Theology (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975), pp. 29-43.

the power to create is still living and will be living. Thus if the Sabbath expresses my remembrance of the past event and my hope in the future one, it is because it belongs to the faith dimension.

In other words, faith dares to believe in the reality of creation and recreation-salvation because it relies on a God who "is" the Creator. Faith is not just a subjective and present relationship; it requires, in order to be alive and dynamic, a reference to the real past and a vision to the real future. Faith which does not imply real history is without risk and therefore is not a faith, for as Kierkegaard emphasizes it, "Without risk there is no faith."¹ And this is particularly true with regard to the belief in creation or in recreation-salvation, which implies the risk par excellence, namely, the emergence out of nothingness.² There is no greater

¹Søren Kierkegaard, Concluding Unscientific Postscript (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944), pp. 182 and 188.

²We may wonder to what extent the reference to the water element as an expression of the idea of nothingness and of non-existence (see supra p. 68), which has been noticed in the creation pericope, has played a certain role in the elaboration of the symbolic of baptism (and not the idea of fertility, see Walter Kornfeld, "Water," Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology, 3:962), and this as much as the creative presence of the Spirit is manifest here as there as a guarantee of the "future" miracle which will transform the "not yet" of the darkness into the being of the new creation (cf. John 3:1-21; cf. Col 2:12-13). Mircea Eliade in his terms has expressed a similar idea: "L'immersion équivaut, sur le plan humain, à la mort, et sur le plan cosmique, à la catastrophe (le déluge) qui dissout périodiquement le monde dans l'océan primordial" (Traité d'histoire des

risk, and if Kierkegaard is right that "the greater the risk the greater the faith,"¹ then we can say that faith in creation is the faith par excellence.²

Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.³

religions [Paris: Payot, 1959], p. 173). It is interesting to notice that this problem of the relation between baptism by water and the sacrament of the Spirit has led Tertullian in his treatise on baptism to explain the symbol of baptism by reference to Gen 1:1 (see Quintus F. Tertullianus, "De Baptismo, chap. 3," in Opera, Pars 1: Opera Catholica, Adversus Marcionem, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 1 [Turnholt, Belgium: Typographi Brepols, 1954], pp. 278-79).

¹Concluding Unscientific Postscript, p. 188.

²The fact that the creation idea is not prominent in the Bible does not mean that belief in creation was not essential in Israel, as some scholars have inferred (see Michaeli, p. 14; von Rad, Genesis, pp. 43-44). Instead, it once more draws attention to the fact that creation was considered first of all as being a historical event and not an idea. Indeed, if creation was a theological idea in the Bible, it would have been much more referred to. For the idea is by nature a thing which can be expressed several times. It is because creation was thought of as a historical event that it took its place among other historical events which happened once for all. For it is not a theology of creation that the creation pericope brings up, it is rather a history of creation.

Moreover, the way the biblical tradition (cf. supra p. 113) refers to creation is significant in this sense. Even those texts which are concerned with an abstract idea (cf. Prov 8, supra pp. 103-7) refer to creation while concerned with being faithful to the structure of the original text, to the unfolding of the event. The creation did not rise in their mind as a doctrine but instead as a dynamic story with a beginning and an end.

³Heb 11:3. Cf. Frederick F. Bruce: "The first chapter of Genesis is probably uppermost in his mind, since he is about to trace seven living examples of faith from the subsequent chapters of that book" (The Epistle to the Hebrews, NICNT [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964], p. 281).

So it is defined by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. It is remarkable that this passage starts with reference to creation and closes with the perspective of recreation-salvation:

And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.¹

This way of framing the poem does not just follow the chronological process, it expresses overall the concern to provide the keynote of the passage.² It is indeed significant that the introduction of the passage which explicitly gives a definition of faith, the only one of the whole Bible, points undoubtedly to both concepts:

Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.³

The evidence of things not seen, οὐ βλεπομένων of v. 1 hints to the seen βλεπούμενον of v. 3 which is made of things which do not appear, i.e., the creation.⁴

¹Heb 11:39, 40 (cf. v. 35).

²Cf. C. Spicq: "Ce chapitre qui avait commencé à la création (v. 2) se termine magnifiquement par l'évocation discrète de la consommation finale de l'humanité" (L'Épître aux Hébreux, Etudes Bibliques, 2 vols. [Paris: Gabalda, 1952], 2:369).

³Heb 11:1.

⁴Yet the author may have thought here of the LXX reading of Gen 1:2, "the earth was invisible (ἀόρατος) and unfinished" (see Bruce, *Hebrews*, p. 281) so that the τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων refers to the ἰσθμ and not to the word of God as it has been argued by Tillich who identifies the two concepts (*Systematic Theology*, 1:157-58). Furthermore, his language recalls 2 Macc 7:28 where it is stated that the world was made "out of things that had

And on the other hand, "the substance of things hoped for" of v. 1 hints to "the better thing God provided for those who had not actually received the promise."¹

Thus for the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, faith found its best definition by reference to the belief in creation as well as in the hope of recreation. Moreover it is significant that in the same epistle, faith (πίστις) is also connected with the Sabbath (4:2-3) which refers explicitly to the past event of the creation (11:3b, 4) and to the recreation of the present (v. 11) as well as eschatological (v. 13) salvation.²

It seems then that the Sabbath lent itself to such a reflection which on the faith level associated the past event of creation, with salvation in its existential and eschatological application.³

no existence" ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (cf. 2 Apoc. Bar. 21:4; 2 Enoch 25:1ff.). Our passage implies then creatio ex nihilo without any ambiguity (see Bruce, Hebrews, p. 281; cf. also Arnold Erhardt, The Framework of the New Testament Stories [Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1964], pp. 200-204).

¹Cf. v. 39.

²Cf. Gerrit C. Berkouwer: "There is a very intimate relation between the creation Sabbath and the abiding Sabbath as a token of the coming salvation of the Lord" (The Providence of God [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1952], pp. 64-65).

³Cf. Reinhold Niebuhr's definition of faith: "Faith concludes that the same 'Thou' who confronts us in our personal experience is also the source and Creator of the whole world" (The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation, 2 vols. [New York: Scribner's Sons, 1964], 1:132).

CONCLUSION

The biblical creation has been written in terms of Revelation, Reality and Existence. But this is not enough. It is also essential that it has been intended to be received as such by every generation. This is attested by the fact that the same categories of thought recur also on the existential level.

On the other hand, we have also noticed that Revelation, Reality and Existence are closely connected and exist precisely in this connection, so that to dissociate them runs the risk of shaking all the body.

Contemporary theologies of creation seem not only to have overlooked this connection,¹ but they also have thereby not recognized the existence of the three dimensions because they pointed respectively to either one or two of them, but never to the three together.²

The reason for this is their common refusal to recognize the historical reality of creation. The "events" of Creation and Redemption have become nothing more than a "vision" of faith, a concept. Thus it is not only the

¹Westermann seems however to have perceived the connection, since he consistently rejects all the three together (cf. *supra* p. 192, n. 1).

²Cf. *supra* pp. 192-93.

reality of creation which is here involved. It is by the same way the very soul of biblical truth, namely, the Reality of salvation and of hope.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The passion for meeting the "word" where it stands, i.e., "there," is the challenge which meets every exegetical attempt. This passion has animated the present research throughout our "wrestling" with the text of Gen 1 and has essentially motivated our inquiry of its literary structure, precisely the one which has been intended by the author.

We have moved through three steps, each of which was generated by the preceding one. The first step of our work has been concerned with establishing the literary structure of the creation pericope C (Gen 1:1-2:4a) under the control of the other creation passage C' (Gen 2:4b-25). The more we analyzed the connection between them, the more we realized that both creation pericopes were in fact revealing a parallelism which manifested itself not only in the literary structure but also in the agreement of the thematic content. The evidence indicates that C' is the symmetrical correspondent of C. As in a mirror, C and C' reflect each other and thereby the latter constitutes an ideal control to the former. The fact that the literary structure of C has been recognized also in C', and that this literary structure was not in tension with the thematic content, not only betrayed the intentionality

of the literary act, but indicated also that we have discovered the literary structure of the text as it has been intended by the author.

Furthermore, this conclusion has been strengthened by the fact that the literary structure of C and its connection with C' have also been perceived in various degrees in biblical as well as in extra-biblical texts referring to creation. However, the way this literary structure was reflected in those texts made evident that they were in essence different from our creation text, at least in the sense that the former "referred to" creation, while the latter "told about" it. Thus in addition to the intentionality which has been at work in the literary composition, we have been able to evaluate the great degree of independence and creativity evident in C and C' which has led us naturally to the next step.

The second step has been concerned with drawing out the implications of this conclusion on the level of the literary composition of the text. (1) The fact that the literary unity between C and C' is so deeply connected with C' on the level of the signifier, i.e., the literary structure, and that this connection recurs on the level of the signified, i.e., the content, leads inevitably to the question of the validity of the Documentary hypothesis. (2) The observation that C has been written in relationship to C' and conversely, points to a "lateral" process of writing and not a "concentric" one as is argued

by the Tat-Wortbericht theory, and reveals the profound unity of the pericope C. The text has been "incarnated" into a literary genre which was "classical," i.e., according to the stylistic pattern of the genealogy. This conclusion shows once more the degree of consciousness in the literary act: the text has not been written haphazardly. The profound unity of the text, joined to the strong consciousness and intentionality, has emerged ultimately in the necessity to meet the message of the text: the author had something "to say" and this generated the last step.

The third step of our work has been concerned with reflecting on theological perspectives upon the basis of the previous data. Our reflection has been projected into three questions which appeared to us relevant in today's debate. The biblical creation pericope points to the three dimensions of Revelation, Reality and Existence. The "account" of creation has been written by an author who received it and intended to transmit it as a Revelation from the "Other." The way this event has been told teaches us that the author assumed its real and exact historicity. But the author did not content himself with informing, he wanted the "receiver" to remember it as such, and more than this, to actualize in his existence the fact that this event happened so. Being the last day of divine creation and the first full day of human existence, the Sabbath was designed to constitute the ideal means of

expression for this particular faith. Made of the flesh of time and of the reality of existence, it pointed to the nature of the event it referred to, an event which so happened: a Reality, an event with God as subject, a Revelation. Thus Revelation, Reality and Existence are not only involved in the text, but they are brought into essential connection. In other words, Revelation implies Reality and both imply a real existential engagement with the One who revealed.

Thus, starting on the basis of what has been established as intended by the biblical author, namely, the literary structure of the text, we have been able to have access not only to the internal process of its composition, but also to the message which was thought by its addresser and intended for its receiver.

Indeed the whole scope of its meaning has not yet been reached. The ocean is yet before us, full of its riches. The first "word" of God remains still to be explored, for the literary key it provided us with this intentional "frame" has just opened the way.¹

¹Moreover, first of all concerned with Gen 1 the present research has drawn implications of the relationship between C and C' essentially within the limits of a concentration on C, and thus has not been able to fully appreciate the results of our literary observation as regards an exegesis of C'. In other words, the special relationship we have noted between the two creation pericopes which has led us to consider C in the light of C' must also ultimately lead to an analysis of C' in the light of C, and the latter remains therefore to be done.

But at the end of this work there arises a question which comes as a natural and last implication of this research and concerns biblical exegesis in general. Would it not be the function of the literary structure, or of the "frame" in its broader sense, to indicate the nature of the content as a light and a control on the difficult and painful path of exegesis?

If there is validity in this principle, namely, that the "frame" is related to and points to the content, we may wonder whether it would be applicable not only for a particular biblical text, but also for the biblical canon as a whole. Claus Westermann hints in this direction as he notices,

In its first pages the Bible speaks of the beginning, and in its last pages, of the end. It is surprising then that in the Christian church so little is said about the beginning and the end in their relationship to each other, and that in Christian theology so little attention is devoted to them.¹

With his fine literary sensitivity, Westermann has perceived that behind this connection lies an essential truth which had, to his surprise, been overlooked by the "Christian Church," by "Christian theology."² And

¹Claus Westermann, Beginning and End in the Bible, Facet Books, Biblical Series 31 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), p. 1.

²The phenomenon is also to be observed in the Old Testament separately, which begins with creation and ends in the last "canonical" prophet with the parousia. It is probably the same principle which was in the thought of the apostle John as he introduced his gospel by referring to the creation and concluded his Revelation, the last book of the New Testament, by the invocation to the

therefore he pursued his reflection in this direction, thinking "beginning and end in their relationship to the center of the Bible's message."¹

The Bible begins with the creation and ends with the parousia. This may also be taken as a literary token, indicating from within the nature of its content, that thereby dialogue is opened with the "written" Word of God.

parousia. It is moreover interesting that we find the two themes specifically associated in Mal 4:4-5 (in Hebrew Mal 3:22-23) and Rev 14:7 as if the two passages, concerned with the same period of time and the same truth, were echoing each other (on the literary and stylistic connection between these two passages, see Doukhan, Boire aux Sources, pp. 167-70).

¹Westermann, Beginning and End in the Bible, p. 33.

APPENDIX

"THESE ARE THE GENERATIONS . . ."

The role of this formula in the delimitation of the two records of creation has made it necessary to engage it in a special treatment. Its position and meaning¹ has puzzled most scholars--especially those who regard the text as a narrative²--and thus it remains the object of scholarly discussion.³

Our investigation has led us to the conclusion that this formula has been designed by the biblical author to point back to the preceding record of creation, forming its conclusion rather than the introduction of C'.

It is not possible for us to evaluate thoroughly

¹For a discussion on the semantics of חַלְלֵנוּ, see Harrison, p. 547; cf. also Gordon, "Higher Critics and Forbidden Fruit," p. 133, and Morris, pp. 28-29; see also Eissfeldt, "Toledot," in Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik, pp. 1-8; McEvenue, pp. 38-39. See also the sensitive "definition of terms" of Robert R. Wilson, Genealogy and History in the Biblical World, Yale Near Eastern Researches 7 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 8-10. See our treatment of the question supra pp. 176-77. For a linguistic treatment of the word see Johnson, pp. 14-15.

²See Cross, p. 302.

³See especially the survey of the history of research on genealogies in the Pentateuch and beyond, by Wilson, pp. 1-8.

all the ramifications of this conclusion, but it may be helpful first of all to restate briefly the major arguments as they have emerged from the literary structure itself; then we attempt to bring into focus further issues in regard to most recent and relevant discussions.

Arguments Based on the Literary Structure

1. The Literary Genre

The fact that C has been cast into the literary genre of the genealogy (חילדוּת) indicates that the latter expression points back to the record of creation¹ and is therefore expected to belong to its conclusion. It is noteworthy that Cross has described the literary genre of genealogy as a "highly distinct style" and with the very features we have perceived also in C,² though he does not recognize this style in C. It is likewise significant that Monsengwo Pasinya, who approaches the text from a literary point of view, justifies this use of the term חילדוּת by the observation that C, which is described by it, is actually a חילדוּת on account of its structure:

On comprend dès lors que la création soit racontée dans le genre littéraire des 'tôledôt', (Gen 2, 4a; cfs. Gen 5). Ce genre littéraire est admirablement rendu au point de vue structural par le retour cyclique des formules-cadre.³

¹See supra p. 175.

²See supra pp. 172-74; cf. Cross, p. 301.

³Monsengwo Pasinya, p. 229.

Yet the literary affinities of C with הוללות are not only confined to the "objective" structure, they are also apparent in the style in its "subjective" import. Both C and genealogy in general present a lack of life and human involvement which give to the texts an impression of a basic rhythm and a "tremendous monotone"¹ which recalls a kind of report, "ein Bericht."² Man and Existence are not described here in action. C and genealogy in general speak of an event or a succession of events in which man has no hand at all: the creation of the universe and the regular cycle of birth and death express that kind of "determinism."

2. The Relationship Between the Conclusion of C (Gen 2:4a) and its Introduction (Gen 1:1)

The formula which contains the word הוללות shares a number of keywords with the introduction of C, namely, the compound expressions השמים והארץ and the term ברא. This is another indicator that Gen 2:4a belongs indeed to C.³

The stylistic and linguistic connection of the two passages has recently been pointed out by Peter Weimar who rightly observes,

Sie weist wegen ihrer sprachlichen und stilistischen

¹See Westermann, Genesis Accounts, p. 6.

²See supra, p. 166 and p. 173.

³See supra p. 202, n. 2.

Verwandtschaft zu Gen 1,1 auf den gleichen Verfasser für beide Verse.¹

It is furthermore noteworthy that this Introduction-Conclusion connection is also clearly recognizable in biblical texts which have been shown to reflect the same literary structure as C.² This connection is important because it not only supports the place of this formula at the end of C but also points at the same time, as Weimar notes, to a same authorship of Introduction and Conclusion.³

3. The Relationship Between the Conclusion of C (Gen 2:4a) and the Introduction of C' (Gen 2:4b)

The parallelism between the first part of Gen 2:4 (vs. 4a) and the following one (vs. 4b)⁴ indicates a

¹Peter Weimar, "Die Toledot-Formel in der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," BZ 18 (1974): 73-74. Cf. also Schmidt, Schöpfungsgeschichte, p. 91; Josef Scharbert, "Der Sinn der Toledot-Formel in der Priesterschrift," in Wort-Gebot-Glaube: Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments: Festschrift Walther Eichrodt, ed. Oscar Cullmann and Hans J. Stoebe, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 59 (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), pp. 54-56.

²See supra pp. 85, 92, 95.

³Therefore this formula is not a later addition from R^P as it has been argued especially by Heinrich Holzinger, Genesis, Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament 1 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898), pp. 15-16; cf. also von Rad, Priesterschrift im Hexateuch, p. 38; cf. Johnson, p. 15, n. 4.

⁴See supra p. 59. Cf. Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis, 1:98-99. Yet this author was so concerned to demonstrate the literary unity of the passage that he overlooked the shift of level from the first member of the verse (4a) to the next one (4b).

particular "assymmetrical symmetry"¹ which brings into relief a significant contrast. Thus בָּרָא is put in relationship with עָשָׂה,² אֱלֹהִים is put in relationship with יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים³ and שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ is in chiastic parallelism with אָרֶץ וּשְׁמַיִם.⁴

If we add the observation that the word אָרֶץ (keyword of C') is used seven times in C' including its first occurrence in 2:4b, and that the word בָּרָא (keyword of C) is used seven times in C, including its last occurrence in 2:4a, we have another indicator in favor of Gen 2:4a as the conclusion of C. And this observation is all the more significant since the role of the number seven in the structure of C had been recognized before.⁵

These phenomena not only plead in favor of the shift from C to C' in Gen 2:4a and 2:4b, but indicate at the same time that on the basis of the "literary" unity of C the same author intended it for the purpose of a transition from C to C'.⁶

¹See supra p. 12.

²See supra p. 51, n. 1; p. 62, p. 199.

³See supra pp. 34-35, 145.

⁴See supra p. 59, n. 2 and p. 60.

⁵See Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis, 1:12; Loretz, p. 32; Beauchamp, Création et Séparation, pp. 71-74; Monsenqwo Pasinya, pp. 228-29; see supra p. 60.

⁶It seems that Thompson had this intuition as he asked his provocative question: "When these two accounts are interpreted in isolation from each other, have we really grasped the intention behind their combination?" (p. 199).

4. The Relationship Between the Conclusion of C
(Gen 2:4a) and the Conclusion of C' (Gen 2:25)

Several correspondences of thought have been noted between the conclusions of C and C'.¹

(a) Both are "objectification" of what has been created in their respective reports;

(b) both refer to a motif of two as one, heaven and earth in C and husband and wife in C';

(c) both suggest the idea of a perfect creation, i.e., not yet spoiled by the evil.

It is, moreover, noteworthy that these correspondences of thought are also attested in biblical texts which happen to refer to the Genesis creation pericopes,² indicating that Gen 2:4a has been written and interpreted within the Hebrew canon as the conclusion of C in a way parallel to Gen 2:25.

5. The Pattern תולדות → ראשית

A hint to this pattern in the boundaries of the creation pericope may be perceived in the genealogy of the sons of Noah (Gen 10).³ There the word תולדות occurs in the introduction (Gen 10:1) and in the conclusion (Gen 10:32). It is significant moreover that the word ראשית occurs also here and in connection with Babel

¹See supra pp. 72-75.

²See supra p. 91.

³See supra p. 175.

(Gen 10:10). It is also significant that the Babel motif recurs thereafter (Gen 11) and this time in linguistic connection with the word חולדות.¹ Thus, we have the following scheme: ראשית (Babel) → חולדות (Babel). By means of the Babel motif the author might have then suggested "in filigree" the association חולדות-ראשית in a way which points to the literary boundaries of C.²

Discussions

On the basis of the foregoing arguments, we agree with Edmond Jacob,³ Claus Westermann⁴ and others⁵ who interpret the phrase "these are the generations of" as belonging to C.

¹See supra p. 175, n. 3.

²Since ראשית in Gen 10 is a status constructus and since this ראשית by its association to חולדות points to the literary structure of C, we have thus one more indication that the ראשית of C was also a status constructus.

On the other hand, the use of the stylistic expression בראשית ממלכתו בבל in Gen 10:10 which belongs to the mechanism of this hint to C, brings out a pattern which recurs only in the book of Jeremiah:

Jer 27:1 בראשית ממלכת יהויקים

Jer 28:1 בראשית ממלכת צדקיה

(cf. also Jer 26:1 and 49:34), i.e., precisely in those expressions which have been detected as a hint to the literary structure of C (see supra pp. 108-112). And this observation shows once more that the expression in Jeremiah is not mere borrowing because of an eventual Babylonian influence at that time (see supra p. 112, n. 1), but is intentional, pointing to the direction of the creation story C.

³Theology of the Old Testament, p. 139.

⁴Creation, p. 27; Genesis, p. 113.

⁵For instance von Rad, Genesis, p. 65; cf. also Johnson, p. 14.

Does the fact that the term תולדות comes at the beginning of a genealogy repudiate this concluding usage, as Cross argued?

Genesis 2:4a, "These are the generations of heaven and earth" stands as a heading to the Yahwistic section, stories of creation and human rebellion, Genesis 2:4b-4:26. Confirmation is found in the fact that in all cases in which the formula is used . . . it is a superscription to a section.¹

1. It must be first observed that although in most usages of תולדות (ten of them)² this term stands at the beginning of a section, there are indeed some cases where this formula is used in the conclusion and pointing back to the preceding record.³

2. It is noteworthy that the interpretation of the formula as a conclusion has been recently defended by Weimar on the basis of syntactical considerations.⁴

3. The hint to the specific frame ראשית → תולדות which has been perceived in the genealogy of the sons of Noah⁵ justifies the irregularity of the word

¹Cross, p. 302; Fields, p. 158; Robert L. Reymond, "Does Genesis 1:1-3 Teach a Creation Out of Nothing," in Scientific Studies in Special Creation, ed. Walter E. Lammerts (Nutley, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1971), p. 13; Kidner, Genesis, pp. 23, 59; cf. Cassuto, Commentary on Genesis 1:97.

²Gen 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 9; 37:2. Also Exod 1:1; Num 3:1; Ruth 4:18.

³Gen 10:32 (see supra pp. 25-51); Exod 6:19; 1 Chr 7:9; 8:28; 9:9; 9:34.

⁴Weimar, p. 93.

⁵See supra pp. 250-51, the fifth argument.

חולדון at the end, especially for the creation pericope which begins with בראשית.

4. The view of Harrison who interprets חולדון as a cclophon, hence as a mark of the end of the document or the tablet and therefore an indication of the literary disconnection between them, is hardly defensible.¹ The literary unity between the so-called "generations of heaven and earth" with the rest of the book of Genesis² would hardly support the argument of archives written and transmitted by Adam, Noah and so on. The attribution of C to the genealogy literary genre that the biblical author suggested by qualifying C as חולדון seems to have had a theological intention. In this manner was indicated the fact that the creation story was to be understood in the same perspective as a genealogy.³ As Edmond Jacob states,

The same priestly author uses the term toledot for the creation of the heavens and the earth (Gen 2:4) as well as for the genealogy of the patriarchs and still today the Jews express this unity of creation

¹Harrison, p. 547. Cf. also Wiseman, New Discoveries in Babylonia, pp. 47-50 and idem, Creation Revealed in Six Days: The Evidence of Scripture Confirmed by Archaeology (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1958), pp. 45-47.

²See Westermann, Creation, pp. 24-25; DeWitt, pp. 198-99.

³Therefore, the reference to חולדון is not to be interpreted in the wider sense of history (see Harrison, p. 546), but instead in the particular sense of genealogy (see especially Westermann, Genesis, p. 22 and Jürgen Kegler, Politisches Geschehen und theologisches Verstehen: Zum Geschichtsverständnis in der frühen israelitischen Königszeit, Calwer Theologische Monographien 8 (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1977), pp. 21-22.

and history by dating their calendar from the creation of the world.¹

For Bernhard W. Anderson, both creation accounts which he clearly distinguishes as the "creation story in Gen 1-2:4a" and "the supplementary account in Gen 2:4b-25," are inseparably connected to the historical narrative,

Often we detach "creation" from this historical context and consider it as a separate "doctrine" (which happens usually in discussions of the relation between science and religion). But this violates the intention of the creation stories. They want to speak to us primarily about history. Accordingly, the greatest weight must be given to the form of these stories: they are "historical accounts" and, as such, are part of the historical narration.²

It is worth noting that this stylistic procedure of introducing the human history with a genealogy seems to have been used in ancient Near Eastern literature. This pattern has recently been discovered in Babylonian epic.³

¹Theology of the Old Testament, p. 139.

²Bernhard W. Anderson, Creation Versus Chaos, p. 33. Cf. Weimar: "Ausserdem hat P⁹ dadurch, dass sie die Unterschrift mit Hilfe der Toledot-Formel gestaltete, die Schöpfungsgeschichte in das mit dieser Formel gebildete Gliederungswerk ihrer Schöpfungs- und Patriarchengeschichte eingebunden" (p. 75). More recently, this connection narrative-genealogy has been explained by Kegler in terms of a "traditionsgeschichtlichen Verwandtschaft" (p. 24; cf. Westermann, Genesis, p. 111); cf. also Habel, p. 66; see supra p. 210.

³See Wilcke, p. 188. Cf. also Wilson who shows that the peculiarity of the function of genealogy in Mesopotamian king lists is precisely to introduce the historical narrative by a genealogy (pp. 132-33). This introductive function of the genealogy has been emphasized by Bernhard W. Anderson: "It is significant that the Creation is embraced within the time scheme (חולדות) which P traces through succeeding 'generations' (Gen 2:4a). In this view, creation is a temporal event,

Therefore, this literary connection between the genealogy and the historical narrative is another argument which weakens Cross' position for a "secondary" addition of the formula אלה הולדוהו which has been allegedly taken from "an ancient document, the séper tōlēdōt 'ādām . . . a document consisting of genealogical series."¹

On the other hand, as Kidner has objected to Wiseman,

By insisting on a complete succession of named tablets the theory implies that writing is nearly if not quite as old as man. Genesis itself, read in any other way, does not require this: it leaves it perfectly tenable that while the genealogies were committed to writing at an early but unspecified stage the rest of the family history may have been passed down by word of mouth, as its manner often suggests.²

And indeed, some of the characteristics indicated by Eduard Nielsen for the oral way of transmission fit perfectly to the stylistic features of C,

Recurrent expressions, a fluent, paratactic style,

the beginning of a movement of history" ("Creation," IDB 1:727).

¹Cross, p. 301 following von Rad, Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch, p. 38. Cf. also Noth's distinction between "primary genealogies" and "secondary genealogies" (History of Pentateuchal Traditions, pp. 214-19). For a view similar to Noth, see Johannes Hempel, Die althebräische Literatur (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1930), p. 110 and Adolphe Lods, Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932), pp. 153-62. For further discussion of this distinction, see Wilson, pp. 201-2.

²Kidner, Genesis, p. 24.

a certain rhythm and euphony which are especially noticeable when one hears the account.¹

And this is inasmuch relevant as we recall that the material of C has precisely been brought in the "recitation" literary genre with the very purpose of being memorized.² As we know, this kind of transmission can be exceedingly accurate when it is well applied.³

Thus two arguments make the literary unity genealogy-narrative conceivable:

(a) the connection genealogy-narrative is attested in ancient literature and is applicable as a theological principle;

(b) the style of C indicates the concern for future oral transmission and does not imply thereby the necessity of writing down in tablets from Adam and so on.

¹Eduard Nielsen, Oral Tradition: A Modern Problem in Old Testament Introduction, Studies in Biblical Theology 11 (London: SCM Press, 1954), p. 36. This style, however, does not mean that it must be the result of a pre-literary oral tradition as argued by Nielsen; rather, it might have been written this way intentionally, so as to facilitate memorization of the recitation at the post-literary stage (see supra pp. 178-79; 223-24).

²See supra pp. 169, 179, 223, 224. This "recitation" function of the genealogy has recently been perceived by Wilson, see pp. 44-45.

³See the examples referred to by Wilson from other peoples (pp. 23-24 and 31-33). Thus the historiographic worth of the genealogies has been argued by William F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 2nd ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 72-81, 238-43 and John Bright, A History of Israel, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 70-71, 91-92. For an example of the use of genealogies as a "sure" basis for reconstruction in Israelite history, see Samuel Yeivin, The Israelite Conquest of Canaan, Uitgaven

The formula *אלה חולדות* is indeed unexpected at the end of C,¹ (a) because the latter pericope is not a *חולדות* properly speaking;² (b) because the formula in question comes usually at the beginning of the text which it qualifies.

We have now strong reasons to think that in spite of this, there is here an exception. Thus the general rules of logic--it is not in its content a genealogy--and of style--*חולדות* comes at the end--have been transgressed indicating once more the genius of independence

van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 27 (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1971).

¹It is worth noting that the LXX which uses the noun γενεαις, namely, the translation of *חולדות* in Gen 2:4a as the title of the book, may thereby witness a tradition of reading *חולדות* as the heading of the first chapter as it is the case for *בראשית* which, as the heading of the first chapter of the Book in MT, holds also the function of the title of the book. This argument of the LXX together with the fact that *חולדות* is generally used as a heading, has led Karl Budde to the conclusion that the formula might have been the Überschrift of C ("Ellä toledoth," ZAW 34 [1914]:246, n. 1). Yet this author does not explain the process by which the Überschrift has become an Unterschrift, for even if it is the work of a revisor, that still does not answer the question why he has proceeded in this way (see infra p. 258, n. 1).

On the other hand, this tradition of reading may betray the disturbing character of the presence of the formula at the end of the record on account of the general usage which brings it rather as a heading.

²This abnormality has been pointed out by Weimar in terms of a subtle distinction between what he calls Entstehungsgeschichte proper to the creation story, and the Lebensgeschichte proper to the genealogy (p. 74).

and the concern of intentionality¹ which have been at work intensively in the writing down of the material to be transmitted.

¹This intentionality has been recently pointed out by Kegler who sees several reasons which may have determined the author to break the rule and to put the expression תולדות at the end of C (see pp. 24-25).

To the question why תולדות has been put at the end, Kegler answers:

(1) Dealing with the idea of "beginning," the text does not call for a title; cf. Otto Eissfeldt, who on the basis of the strength (wuchtig) of the word בראשית considers a title unnecessary ("Toledot," in Kleine Schriften, eds. Rudolf Sellheim and Fritz Maass, 5 vols. [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1968], 4:1).

(2) The author thereby wished to put into relief the "essential" difference of C, which is concerned with the genealogy of "universe," from the other genealogies which are concerned with the generations of men.

(3) In order to suggest a function of transition hence of continuity with the genealogies of men which follow (cf. *supra* pp. 253-54).

On the other hand, to the question why the creation story is a תולדות, Kegler answers that the author was concerned to provide a polemic against the mythical idea of Zeugungsakt. It is indeed significant that the content of the genealogy is precisely telling the creative act of God which precedes and determines the power of giving life: Gebärkraft, Zeugungskraft (cf. Westermann, Genesis, p. 22).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AJSL	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</u>
ANET	Pritchard, James B., ed. <u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</u> . 3rd ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.
AUSS	<u>Andrews University Seminary Studies</u>
BA	<u>Biblical Archaeologist</u>
BASOR	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u>
BCOT	Biblical Commentary of the Old Testament
BDB	Brown, Francis; Driver, Samuel R.; and Briggs, Charles A. <u>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</u> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
BHK	Kittel, Rudolf. <u>Biblia Hebraica</u> . 15th ed. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1968.
BHS	Elliger, K., and Rudolph, W., eds. <u>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</u> . Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1968ff.
Bib	<u>Biblica</u>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BSac	<u>Bibliotheca Sacra</u>
BT	<u>The Bible Translator</u>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u>

BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestament- liche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
CD	Barth, Karl. <u>Church Dogmatics</u> . 12 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961.
CT	<u>Christianity Today</u>
EvQ	<u>Evangelical Quarterly</u>
ExpTim	<u>Expository Times</u>
GBS.NT	Guides to Biblical Scholarship. New Testament Series
GBS.OT	Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Old Testament Series
IB	<u>The Interpreter's Bible</u> . Edited by George A. Buttrick. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	<u>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u> . Edited by George A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962.
IDBSup	<u>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</u> . Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.
Int	<u>Interpretation</u>
JBL	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
JR	<u>Journal of Religion</u>
JSOT	<u>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</u>
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	<u>New English Bible</u>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NJV	<u>New Jewish Version</u>

NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NTS	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
OTS	<u>Oudtestamentische Studiën</u>
RB	<u>Revue biblique</u>
RHPR	<u>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</u>
RSV	<u>Revised Standard Version</u>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
THAT	<u>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament.</u> Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1971.
TLZ	<u>Theologische Literaturzeitung</u>
TOB	<u>Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible. Edition</u> <u>intégrale. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1976;</u> Paris: Les Bergers et les Mages, 1976.
TSK	<u>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</u>
TWNT	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.</u> Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Kohl- hammer, 1950.
TZ	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
VT	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissen-</u> <u>schaft</u>
ZTK	<u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u>

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